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THE LIFE

OF

THOMAS, LORD COCHRANE,

TENTH EARL OF DUNDONALD, G.C.B.,

ADMIRAL OF THE RED, REAR-ADMIRAL OF THE FLEET, ETC., ETC.,

COMPLETING "THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF A SEA[redacted]

BY

THOMAS, ELEVENTH EAR[redacted]

AND

H. R. FO[redacted]

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THE LIFE

OF

THOMAS, TENTH EARL OF DUNDONALD.

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[1827.]

LORD COCHRANE entered the Egean Sea with his little schooner *Unicorn* and the French brig *Sauveur* on the 17th of March, 1827. In the afternoon he halted off the island of Hydra, there to leave the Greek deputy Orlando, who had accompanied him from Marseilles. "I was surprised," he said, "to observe that, except the open batteries near the town of Hydra, the whole coast of the island remained

unprotected, although, in a smooth sea, a landing might be effected in almost every part of its circumference. The town of Hydra is built in an irregular manner on the fall of the mountain about the port, and presents a clean appearance, the houses being all whitewashed. There is not a tree on the island, though there are a few straggling bushes. There is scarcely any land capable of cultivation; but there are some vineyards on the south side and a few small gardens near the town. The port is small, the water deep, and the vessels made fast by hawsers to the shore. It is evident, that, if Greece obtains independence, this island, to which the inhabitants fled to enjoy that species of precarious liberty that depends on eluding the view of tyranny, must be abandoned. Even water is only to be had from tanks which are filled by the winter's rain."

From Hydra Lord Cochrane proceeded to Egina, making a circuit in order that he might have a view of Athens. "The Acropolis," he wrote, "with the whole scenery at sunset, was beautiful. Alas, what a change! what melancholy recollections crowd on the mind! There was the seat of science, of literature, and the arts. At this instant the barbarian Turk is actually demolishing, by the shells that now are flying through the air, the scanty remains of the once magnificent temples in the Acropolis."

He called at Egina on the 18th, in order to despatch letters, announcing his arrival, to the Governing Commission, as it was called, then located in the island, before proceeding to Poros, where he anchored on the morning of the 19th. "The main entrance," we further read in his journal, "is scarcely wide enough to work a ship in, if the wind is from the land. The water, however, is sufficiently deep close to the shore; and the port, when you have entered through this narrow channel, is one of the finest in the world. There is another entrance towards the south, but it is shallow and crooked, and consequently used only by small vessels. The town of Poros consists of a number of irregularly-built houses on the side of a hill, and merits the appellation of picturesque. There are remains of temples on the island, and the stone is yet to be seen on which Demosthenes is said to have been sitting when he was recalled by Antipater to Athens, and in consequence of which recall he took poison and died."

No sooner was the joyful intelligence conveyed to the inhabitants that Lord Cochrane, the long-expected deliverer of Greece, had actually arrived, than all the leading men who happened to be in Poros at the time hurried on board the *Unicorn* to welcome their champion and to give personal assurance of

their devotion to him. The first to arrive was Jakomaki Tombazes, who was now acting with Dr. Gosse as superintendent of marine affairs, having surrendered the chief command of the fleet into the hands of Andreas Miaoulis. Miaoulis himself soon followed, and with him Alexander Mavrocordatos and many others. "Prince Mavrocordatos," wrote Lord Cochrane's secretary, Mr. George Cochrane, "was a short, stout, well-built man, of very dark complexion, with black eyes, an oval face expressing great intelligence, and his hair very long, hanging upon his shoulders. He was dressed in the European style, and wore on his head a little cloth cap. He also habitually wore spectacles. His manners indicated a man perfectly accustomed to the society of persons of rank. He immediately entered into familiar conversation with Lord Cochrane in the French language. He carried his pipe with him, which he continually smoked. Miaoulis was dressed in the Hydriot fashion; but, of course, as became a primate of the island, his attire was of a description much superior to that of his poorer fellow-countrymen.* His countenance was open and

* "These men," says the same authority, "generally speaking, from their complexions, evinced that they had been mariners all their lives, the sun having well tanned them. They wore small red caps, from which their hair flowed wildly down their shoulders. On the upper lip they wore very long mustachios, which the older ones were continually curling,

dignified, and so calm that it appeared like a rock which nothing could move. Not that it had any character of sternness in it; on the contrary, it possessed a placidity, blended with firmness, which was anything but forbidding. The moment Miaoulis came on deck, he cordially shook hands with Lord Cochrane, and a broken conversation commenced between them in Spanish, Miaoulis speaking that language but imperfectly. At the period in question he commanded the *Hellas* frigate. He knew perfectly well that Lord Cochrane's arrival would take the command out of his hands. Nevertheless, he evinced not the least jealousy, but was one of the first to offer his services under Lord Cochrane. 'I know my countrymen,' he said, 'and that I can be of service to your lordship on board the frigate. I will therefore sail under your command.' Such an offer was not to be refused, and he was requested to remain

and bringing out the point. They wore trousers of blue cotton, and a jacket; and by the immense capacity of the former, I should suppose they must have contained at least twelve yards. This was gathered into plaits round the waist, and only descended to the knees, which were left open. The hinder part presented a most singular appearance. It hung down almost trailing upon the ground in a huge bag, which kept moving backwards and forwards in a ludicrous manner at every motion of the body. They wore shoes, but no stockings; and their legs were as dark as their countenances, and covered with hair. Round their waist they wore a large red sash in several folds. Their jacket was similar to a waistcoat, with sleeves, and ornamented with small buttons from the wrist to the elbow, and the same on the bosom."—"Wanderings in Greece."

on board. Miaoulis informed Lord Cochrane that the hope of Greece rested in the *Hellas*, and in the quondam merchant brigs belonging to private individuals in the islands of Hydra, Spetzas, Poros, and Egina, amounting to about two hundred and fifty. These vessels had been armed as men-of-war; some had been turned into fireships, and it was the latter that struck so much terror into the Turks, several Turkish vessels of the line and frigates having been destroyed under the guidance of the brave Kanaris, a native of the ill-fated island of Psara."

The compliments and congratulations offered in person to Lord Cochrane immediately after his anchoring off Poros were followed by compliments and congratulations yet more profuse conveyed to him in writing by all classes and from all quarters. One of the first and most important communications was addressed to him on the 18th of March, in the name of the National Assembly, as it styled itself, met at Kastri, by its president, Georgios Sissinis. "Greece," he said, "rejoices at your appearance in her seas. The aspirations of the Greeks are realised. Their hopes in the success of their sacred struggle revive. The Greek nation, assembled here in a third National Assembly, desires to see you and invites you here, sending to you, with that object,

the General-in-Chief of the armies of the Peloponnesus, Theodore Kolokotrones, Messrs. Kanaris, Botazes, and Bulgaris, General Zavella and Count Metaxas, who will tender to you the thanks of all for your zeal on behalf of their cause." "The Government is seized with unutterable joy at your auspicious arrival," wrote the members of the rival assembly at Egina, on the same day: "the Government wishes you happy success in all your enterprises, and hopes soon to find in you a triumphant conqueror." "For a long while past," wrote the governors of Hydra, "our brave mariners have centred all their hopes on your arrival. You can understand then the joy that we felt when we saw your brig and schooner, and when we knew that you had actually arrived. We hasten to tender to you the homage of our island, and to express to you our impatience to see our little navy placed under your orders, and guided by you to new victories, by which the safety and independence of Greece may be secured." "Your arrival in our beloved country," wrote the primates of Spetzas, "has filled the soul of every inhabitant of our island with joy, and every one presents his thanks to Heaven for having at last sent such an one to fight with us and to protect our fatherland." "You have come to Greece," wrote Konduriottes, "at a moment when this unfortunate country most

needs all that it can hope from the wisdom and courage of so great a defender. The announcement of your arrival will form an epoch in the history of our Revolution, and, I dare to hope, in that of our moral regeneration."

That moral regeneration was needed Lord Cochrane already well knew, and he had not been a day in Greece before the knowledge was forced upon him afresh. The unworthy disposition of most of the men in power had never been more plainly shown, nor threatened more imminent danger to the independence of Greece, than at the time of Lord Cochrane's arrival. With a few notable exceptions, of whom Miaoulis was perhaps the chief, the Greek leaders had forgotten all their national duty in personal ambition and jealousy. If they united in parties, it was only because each one hoped that, as soon as his own party was triumphant, he himself would be able to obtain the mastery over all his associates.

Two factions, especially, prevailed in Greece at this time, which, partly from the circumstance that they were supported by unwise Philhellenes of the two nations, partly because their native members looked for their chief support to those nations, were known as the French and English parties.

Among Philhellenes the leading promoter of the

French party was Colonel Fabvier, who was now, with some of the troops whom he commanded, defending the Acropolis from the siege of the Turks. He was an officer of considerable merit, with the interests of the Greeks at heart, but of surpassing vanity and ambition. His hope was to become the Napoleon of the East, to convert the whole male population of Greece into a huge army, with himself at its head. With him sympathized most of the military leaders, who, originally little better than brigands, found everything to gratify their present tastes and their future hopes in a scheme which would give them endless employment in lawless warfare and martial dominion. These, coming chiefly from the Morea, caused the faction also to be known as the Moreot party.

More formidable was the English party, with little that was English about it but the name. Its ambition was not military, but diplomatic, the possession of place and power in such ways as were then possible. Its real, if not avowed, leader was Prince Mavrocordatos, with an able abettor in his brother-in-law, Mr. Spiridion Trikoupes. All through the previous year Mavrocordatos and his friends had sought zealously to win for Greece the protection of England. They had corresponded to that end with Mr. Stratford Canning, the British ambassador at

Constantinople, with Captain Hamilton, who was then stationed in Greek waters to watch the interests of English shipping, and with others. They had sent an irregular deputation to treat with the British Government, and had used all the means in their power, so far as foreign intervention was concerned, for the establishment of a smaller but more organized Greek nation than that which their rivals desired. Had that end been worthily sought, they would have deserved universal sympathy. But they showed by their conduct that they cared little for good government, or for the real interests of the community. They exercised their abilities and squandered their resources in schemes for selfish aggrandisement, and the possession of authority which was to benefit none but themselves. Many of their prominent members having studied statecraft, before the time of the Revolution, as Christian officials in the employment of Turkey, to whom the name Phanariot was given from the Christian quarter of Constantinople, the whole party acquired the name of Phanariot.

This latter party had all along hoped to make Lord Cochrane its tool. It was Mavrocordatos who first invited him to enter the service of the Greeks; and when that service was agreed upon no effort was spared to attach him to the group of partizans among whom Mavrocordatos was chief. Lord

Cochrane, steadily refusing this, soon incurred their opposition, and to this opposition is to be attributed some of the unreasonable blame which was afterwards brought upon him. Much further opposition to him, moreover, was soon aroused by this, in like manner, refusing to become the creature of the other leading faction. He wisely resolved, from the first—and he maintained his resolution throughout—to belong to no party, but having devoted himself to the cause of the Greek nation as a whole, to seek only those objects which were for the good of all.

That resolution was soon put to the test. Immediately after his arrival on the 19th of March, great efforts were made to implicate him in the schemes of the Governing Commission, as it was called, which, having outrun the time appointed for its duration, was continuing to assert its authority in Egina, and to use that authority in the interests of the Phanariot party. Two days after that his partizanship was sought for the Moreot faction, which had set up a rival government, styled the National Assembly, at Hermione, under the joint leadership of Kolokotrones, Konduriottes, and Kolettes. On the 20th he was waited upon by the deputation named in the congratulatory letter which has already been quoted from.

"With his whole party," said Lord Cochrane's secretary, reporting this interview, "Kolokotrones

rode down to the beach opposite the ship, and sent off to say he would there wait until a boat should be sent for him and his followers, the whole being about a hundred men, armed, according to the custom of the country, with pistols or daggers stuck in the left side of a sash or belt. The two boats sent being insufficient, not more than twenty came on board with the general. Kolokotrones was the spokesman, and there appeared to be great energy in his gesticulations, which did not correspond with the translation by Count Metaxas, who, from the smile on his countenance, seemed to hold in no great respect the mental acquirements of Kolokotrones. 'Greece,' said the latter, 'required a government to bring order out of chaos. The functions of the commission appointed by the last Legislative Assembly ought to have ceased. Its continuance in power was not legal, and consequently the members of the National Assembly had met at Hermione to name their successors; to which place it was requested that Lord Cochrane would proceed, in order to be present at their deliberations.' A letter to this effect, signed by the President of the Assembly, was then put into Lord Cochrane's hands.

"Lord Cochrane made answer verbally through Count Metaxas to the deputies, that he held in due estimation the honour they had done him by per-

sonally delivering the communication as well as by the very flattering terms used towards him by the members assembled at Hermione. He regretted the decision that had taken place, and, recommending reconciliation, urged the necessity of prompt exertion and the little good that the wisest legislative enactments could effect, whilst the Turks overran their country, whilst they possessed three-fourths of its strongholds, and whilst the enemy besieged the capital of the state, which was in danger of falling into their power. His lordship expressed his regret that so many able and brave military officers as those he saw before him should occupy themselves with civil discussions in the present state of their country.

"Upon this being interpreted to Kolokotrones, he became exceedingly warm, and urged that the duty he was now occupied with was more essential than any other. He, however, cooled on seeing, as we presume, that no one seconded his opinion, which he evidently expected by his glances towards his companions. Kolokotrones remained some time without saying a word, and then rising, took Lord Cochrane by the hand and assured him that he would do his utmost to produce a reconciliation of parties. Lord Cochrane urged that the termination of differences between the parties should be within the space of three

days. Kolokotrones requested five; but afterwards caused his interpreter, Count Metaxas, to say that possibly an answer might be received from Hermione even before the shortest period fixed. Count Metaxas was the last who left the cabin, and as soon as the others were gone, he turned to Lord Cochrane and assured him that his utmost endeavours should not be wanting to accomplish so desirable an object. The Count has evidently the management of Kolokotrones, to whom he probably adheres in order to arrive at real power, under the sanction of an individual on whose shoulders may be heaped all the evil measures to be anticipated in acquiring or upholding any authority over a multitude of rival chiefs and their rude followers.

"Kolokotrones and his party then left the schooner, having first directed one of their soldiers to await Lord Cochrane's reply to the communication of the Assembly. A deputation from Hydra, and a crowd of other visitors, however, precluded Lord Cochrane's despatching the courier until the following morning."

The reply, dated the 21st of March, was wise and bold. "I have had the honour," wrote Lord Cochrane, "to receive the despatches which you have addressed to me, and I cannot but be flattered by the sentiments that they convey. This satisfaction is

the more lively because I have had the opportunity of becoming personally acquainted with his excellency General Kolokotrones, and the officers who accompanied him. But I freely acknowledge that it is blended with a feeling of regret, in that it appears to me that the bravest and most renowned officers of Greece are devoting all their energies to the formation of a civil government and wasting their time in discussions as to the place in which they shall effect a reunion while the enemy is overrunning the country without resistance. Already he possesses three-fourths of the fortresses of Greece, and is besieging the capital of the republic. Athens is on the point of falling into the power of the Ottoman forces; the brave Fabvier and a few heroes, full of enthusiasm, are engaged in aiding the valiant defenders of that city; and meanwhile the officers of Greece betake themselves again and again to frivolous discussions on civil affairs. If the shade of Demosthenes could again animate the ashes of this great man which are here entombed, he would, changing only the names of persons and places, address to you his first Philippic, and you would hear from the lips of a compatriot profoundly versed in history and in the knowledge of mankind, what ought to be your manner of acting. I recommend you to read his discourse in full assembly, and I especially recommend

the citizens charged with presiding over the destinies of Greece to follow his counsels point by point. With an authority so applicable to the existing circumstances, it would be unpardonable presumption in me to address to you other than his own words. 'If, Athenians, you will now, though you did not before, adopt the principle of every man being ready, where he can and ought to give his service to the state, to give it without excuse, the wealthy to contribute, the able-bodied to enlist; in a word, plainly, if you will become your own masters, and cease each expecting to do nothing himself, while his neighbour does everything for him, you will then, with God's permission, get back your own, and recover what has been lost, and punish your enemy.'"

To the same effect were Lord Cochrane's answers to the congratulatory letters sent to him by the other leading persons and parties in Greece. "It may be well to notice," he wrote on the same day to the Government at Egina, "that in the conversation which I had with the deputation from Hermione, I respectfully suggested that, as laws cannot be promulgated with advantage whilst the mass of the country is under the iron yoke of Turkish despotism, nor executed whilst the lives and properties of all continue insecure, the National Assembly might be

adjourned with advantage until the capital is free, and thus we should avoid debating whilst we should be acting, and check those animosities and divisions which naturally arise from difference of sentiment under the peculiar conditions of modern Greece." "The time now draws near," he wrote to the Government of Hydra, "when the approach of a large force may reasonably be anticipated, and when consequently the means that the Greeks possess of contending with their enemies will be comparatively diminished. I have, therefore, in the name of all Europe—by whose people I may in truth say that I have been sent here—called upon the Executive Government, and upon all those connected with public affairs, to act with union and promptitude, and I have informed them that without harmony and exertion amongst the chiefs, the slender means placed at my disposal, and any services which I personally could render, would prove of no avail. The people are split into factions, and operations are paralyzed by the conflicting personal interests of chiefs who perceive not that the prize about which they are contending will fall to the share of others. I have as yet taken no authority upon me in naval affairs, because if union do not prevail I shall deceive Greece and deceive the world by inducing a belief that I could assist you."

While waiting, however, for the rivalries of the

Greek leaders to be removed, or at any rate set aside for a time, Lord Cochrane was not idle. He had frequent interviews, not only with Admiral Miaoulis and the other native seamen of ability, but also with Dr. Gosse, and with Captain Abney Hastings, who joined him on the 22nd, and provided him with much precise information as to the naval strength of Greece, the character of the officers and crews, and the best methods of attacking the Turks with advantage. Information as precise about the land forces was derived from other Philhellenes, among whom Colonel Heideck and Colonel Gordon were perhaps the best informed. Lord Cochrane also made the acquaintance of a new comer in Greece, with whom he was soon to have very intimate relations—Sir Richard Church.

General Church had begun life as an officer in the British army. He had seen various service between 1801 and 1809, and in the latter year had organised a battalion of Greeks at Zante, with which, and afterwards with another which he also formed, he had played an important part in the war for the liberation of the Ionian Islands. On the establishment of peace, he had passed into the Neapolitan service. Many of his old Greek soldiers were now leaders in the Revolution, and, while Lord Cochrane was on his way to become the First Admiral of the Greeks,

General Church had been invited to become Generalissimo on land. He arrived at Porto Kheli, near Kastri or Hermione, on the 9th of March, eight days before the appearance of Lord Cochrane. The generals assembled at Hermione came out to meet him and tender their submission. "Our father is at last come," said one; "we have only to obey him and our liberty is secured." Sir Richard Church was at once sought as a leader by the Moreot faction, just as Lord Cochrane was claimed by the Phanariots as their champion. He, however, like his new comrade, wisely resolved to avoid partisanship and to study the interests of Greece as a whole, and to him must be assigned a share of the good work of pacification in which Lord Cochrane was the prime mover. "This unhappy country," he wrote to his new friend on the 19th of March, "is now divided by absurd and criminal dissensions. I hope, however, that your lordship's arrival will have a happy effect, and that they will do everything in their power to be worthy of such a leader."

They did something, if not everything. It was firmly believed that party strife had reached such a point that, had Lord Cochrane's arrival been delayed only a few days longer, the leaders of the National Assembly at Hermione, turning aside from their useless discussions, would have acted upon a plot

that had been in preparation for several weeks, and, landing a hostile force at Egina, would have violently seized the whole Governing Commission there established. Lord Cochrane's honest reproofs averted this, and so saved Greece from the horrors of another civil war.

"I am happy to be able to inform you," wrote General Church on the 25th of March, "that things are brought to that state that the union of the parties is, I think, now effected. The deputies from Kastri came over to me yesterday morning to Damala, and there they met those of Egina. After some discussion, they have come to a conclusion, which, if ratified by the Assembly at Egina, will finally terminate the affair."

The affair was not terminated immediately. Lord Cochrane had to despatch many more letters and messages of earnest entreaty and indignant reproach to the leaders of the rival factions at Egina and Hermione, and to other prominent men, before the good end that he and all true Philhellenes and patriots sought could be gained. "I have received the letter which your excellency has addressed to me," wrote the worthy Miaoulis, on the 3rd of April, in answer to a letter declining to take command of the fleet until the differences were settled; "and I appreciate the objections which it contains. I wish with all my

heart that the reasons which prevent you may not exist beyond this evening, and that a general union will induce you to place yourself at the head of the Greek navy."

Before that, on the 28th of March, Lord Cochrane had received a formal commission from the Government at Egina. "Knowing well," ran the document, "the valour, wisdom, ability, and energy, and all the warlike virtues which are joined in the estimable person of Lord Cochrane, and by which he has been distinguished in all the various services with which he has elsewhere been charged, the Governing Commission ordains, first, that Lord Cochrane be appointed First Admiral of the Fleet and of all the naval forces of Greece; secondly, that he rank above all other naval officers, and enjoy all the honours, privileges, and rights that appertain to his office; thirdly, that all the admirals, officers, and seamen of Greece recognize him as their superior, and obey his orders in all that concerns the service of the nation, and that all servants of the State, whether civil or military, render him the honour and respect that are his due; fourthly, that the General Secretary of the Government execute this order in all respects, so soon as his Excellency Lord Cochrane shall have taken oath to perform the duties, in regard of which he pledges himself to serve and to act." The docu-

ment was signed by Andreas Zaimes, as president, by Trikoupes, Demetrakopoulos, Blakos, Zamados, Mavromichales, Anargiros, Monarchides, and Zotos, and by Glarakes, the Secretary of State.

Lord Cochrane refused to accept the trust thus imposed upon him, however, until the authorities at Egina had united with those at Hermione and with the primates of the islands in forming one true National Assembly. They still hesitated and objected, and he still had to warn and to expostulate. At length, on the 3rd of April, being convinced that milder language was useless, he wrote to the rival leaders, informing them that, as his counsels appeared to be of no avail, seeing that they were addressed to persons, who, professing to have the interests of the nation at heart, were determined to ruin those interests by their obstinate selfishness, he should quit Greece at once, unless, before the close of the day, they agreed to lay aside their differences.

That wise threat was successful. The factions coalesced, and decided to meet in joint assembly at Damala, also known by its ancient name of Trœzène. On the 4th of April Lord Cochrane was able to write to them in a different tone. "Having come to Greece," he said, "with a firm determination to have nothing to do with party rivalries, except so far as to seek to conciliate them for the public good, and not

to trouble myself about civil affairs, beyond assuring myself of the legality of my functions as Admiral of Greece, and having resolved to do all in my power to obtain its deliverance from the Mahometan yoke, as well as from all foreign domination, I am well pleased at the reunion of all your members in a single National Assembly, and congratulate you on the restoration of harmony. Allow me, at the same time, to offer my prayers for the unanimity of the members of the Government, and for the prompt completion of the business of the National Assembly, in order that its members may depart to their respective provinces, and use their great influence to impress upon their compatriots the imminent danger of the State, and induce them to rush to arms, and by one simultaneous effort expel the oppressors of Greece. After that the Legislative Assembly will have leisure, and the requisite security, to deliberate upon the constitution, the laws, and the arrangements necessary to establish upon a permanent footing the happiness and the prosperity of their fellow-citizens."

Having thus done so much for Greece, Lord Cochrane was asked to do more. "The deputies whom you did me the honour to send," he wrote, on the following day, "having informed me of the difficulties which you find in forming a Government with the necessary promptitude because of the

jealousies shown in choosing citizens to fill situations of authority, permit me to advise that each member should write down the name of the person of his choice, and place it in an urn, and that he who thus obtains the highest number of votes should be president, the second, vice-president, and the others ranged in order until the number of functionaries is complete. In this way you will avoid discussions, animosities, and the loss of time, which is so precious in the present circumstances of Greece. At present naval and military operations alike are all suspended, while the enemy is preparing to put an end at once to the question which engrosses your attention, and to the independence and liberty of Greece!" That sensible advice was not taken, but the first difficulties in the way of administrative reform were overcome.

On the 7th of April, the National Assembly met at Damala, on the coast opposite to Poros, and half way between Hermione and Egina—the meeting-place, for want of a building large enough to hold the two hundred members, being a lemon-grove, watered by the classic fountain of Hippocrene. Its first business, attended by turmoil which threatened to bring the whole proceeding to a violent close, was the election of Count Capodistrias as President, for seven years, of the Greek nation. Capodistrias was the favourite of the Moreot party, but disliked by

the Phanariots, and hated by the island primates. The two latter would have prevented the election, but for the support given to it by Lord Cochrane, who on this account has been frequently and seriously blamed.* There can be no doubt, however, that, whatever may have been the subsequent shortcomings of Capodistrias, he was greatly superior to any of the other and native candidates for the office. None of these candidates had given any proof of statesmanlike powers or disinterested regard for the welfare of Greece. Lord Cochrane judged, with good reason, that that welfare could only be promoted by placing at the head of affairs a man who had hitherto had no share in party strife, who had proved himself to be possessed of great abilities and of generous love for the nation of which, as a native of Corfu, he was in some sort a citizen. Unfortunately, though for this Lord Cochrane was in no way responsible, the management of affairs during the time that must elapse before Capodistrias, if he accepted the office tendered to him, could enter upon it, was intrusted to a Vice-governing Commission composed of three inefficient

* See especially Trikoupes, vol. iv., p. 126, and Gordon, vol. ii., p. 364. Mr. Finlay approves of the choice, but, not caring to say anything in favour of Lord Cochrane, makes no mention of his share in the work. Vol. ii., p. 139.

men, Georgios Mavromichales, Milaites of Psara, and Nakos of Livadia.

The most important business done by the Trœzene Assembly was the installation of Lord Cochrane as First Admiral of Greece. This was done on the 18th of April. Landing for the first time on the continent, Lord Cochrane proceeded in state on horseback for the distance of a mile and a-half that was between the shore and the lemon-grove. At the entrance he was met by Kolokotrónes, who embraced him, saying, "You are welcome;" words that were repeated by many other leading Greeks, who attended and conducted him into the centre of the grove. There he was formally introduced to the delegates as the First Admiral. Through an interpreter he addressed to them a few sentences, urging the necessity of continued harmony, and of a prompt expedition against the Turks, to be conducted both by sea and by land. After that, placing his hand on the hilt of his sword, he took the necessary oath: "I swear to shed my blood for the safety of the Greeks and for the liberation of their country; I swear that I will not abandon their cause so long as they do not themselves abandon it, but sustain my efforts."

The election of Sir Richard Church as Generalissimo of the Land Forces was, in like manner, completed on the 15th of April.

The essential business for which Lord Cochrane had desired that the united National Assembly should meet at Trœzene being now accomplished, he hoped that it would speedily adjourn, in order that the military leaders should be enabled to proceed at once to the work pressing urgently upon them. "The critical moment," said Lord Cochrane, in a letter addressed to them on the 16th of April, "has arrived in which you are called upon to decide whether the population of Greece shall be annihilated or enslaved, your country peopled with barbarous hordes, and the name of Greece blotted out from the list of independent nations." The National Assembly, however, spent more than another month in idle discussions, and in disputing upon matters the settlement of which ought to have been postponed to a less perilous time. Again and again Lord Cochrane had to impress upon them the necessity, in war as in council, of prompt and united action; but with very poor result.

"Once more I address you by letter," he wrote a few days later, "in the hope that you may be persuaded instantly to take measures to save your country from the ruin which protracted deliberations must at the present moment entail—ay, with as much certainty as a continuance of those dissensions which have hitherto so unhappily prevailed; and I

follow this course the more readily in order that, as I have ever advocated liberal forms of government, my advice, that your Assembly shall bring its labours to a close, shall not be misrepresented to Greece and to the world. First, then, the agitated state of the country, by reason of the presence of the enemy, precludes the hope of obedience in ordinary course of law, which is as essential to the existence even of a shadow of republican forms as the practice of virtue and forbearance are to their reality—which, in states that would be free, ever must be accompanied by universal conviction in the public mind that power and wealth are not essential to the enjoyment of personal security, and are desirable or useful only as they promote the common welfare or administer to the wants or comforts of individuals themselves. The Grecian people, however good, naturally cannot be expected instantly to practise virtues which are the offspring of long-established freedom. Greece requires not, at the present moment, sage deliberations regarding permanent forms of government, nor permanent rulers; but she requires energetic authority, that she may be free at least from her foreign oppressors. If, without delay, the military officers take the field, if your labours be brought to a close and every citizen in his respective capacity exert himself to the utmost for the defence

of his country, Athens perhaps may yet be saved, although that object assuredly is rendered far more doubtful by the unfortunate delay that has already occurred."

In entering upon his own share of the work no time was wasted by Lord Cochrane. He had already made himself acquainted with the naval resources of Greece, and done much in devising measures for augmenting them. He had resolved upon the first enterprise to be entered upon; and, while rapidly completing his arrangements for it, he did everything in his power to quicken in the hearts of the Greeks a patriotism as pure and zealous as was his own philanthropy. "To arms! to arms!" he wrote in a proclamation issued at this time. "One simultaneous effort, and Greece is free. Discord, the deadly foe you have had most to fear, is conquered. The task that now remains is easy. The youth everywhere fly to arms. The fate of the Acropolis is no longer doubtful. The Turks surrounded, their supplies cut off, the passes occupied, and retreat impossible, you can ensure the freedom of the classic plains of Athens, again destined to become the seat of liberty, the sciences, and the arts. Rest not content with such limited success. Sheathe not the sword whilst the brutal Turk, the enemy of the progress of civilization and improvement of the human

mind, shall occupy one foot of that classic ground which once was yours. Let the young seamen of the islands emulate the glory that awaits the military force. Let them hasten to join the national ships, and, if denied your independence and rights, blockade the Hellespont, thus carrying the war into the enemy's country. Then the fate of the cruel Sultan, the destroyer of his subjects, the tyrant taskmaster of a Christian people, shall be sealed by the hands of the executioners who yet obey his bloody commands. Then shall prophecy be fulfilled, and Moslem sway be overthrown by the corruptions itself has engendered. Then shall the sacred banner of the Cross once more wave on the dome of Saint Sophia. Then shall the Grecian people live secure under the protection of just laws. Then shall noble cities rise from their ruins, and the splendour of future times rival the days that are past."

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE SIEGE OF ATHENS.—THE DEFENDERS OF THE ACROPOLIS.—THE EFFORTS OF GORDON AND KARAÏSKAKES.—LORD COCHRANE'S PLAN FOR CUTTING OFF THE TURKISH SUPPLIES.—THE ARGUMENTS BY WHICH HE WAS INDUCED TO PROCEED INSTEAD TO THE PHALERUM.—HIS ARRIVAL THERE.—HIS OTHER ARRANGEMENTS FOR SERVING GREECE.—HIS FIRST MEETING WITH KARAÏSKAKES.—THE CONDITION OF THE GREEK CAMP.—LORD COCHRANE'S POSITION.—HIS EFFORTS TO GIVE IMMEDIATE RELIEF TO THE ACROPOLIS, AND THE OBSTACLES RAISED BY THE GREEKS.—KARAÏSKAKES'S DELAYS, AND GENERAL CHURCH'S DIFFICULTIES.—THE CONVENT OF SAINT SPIRIDION.—THE BATTLE OF PHALERUM.—THE CAPTURE OF SAINT SPIRIDION.—THE MASSACRE OF THE TURKS, AND ITS CONSEQUENCES.—LORD COCHRANE'S RENEWED EFFORTS TO SAVE THE ACROPOLIS.—THE DEATH OF KARAÏSKAKES.—THE MARCH TO THE ACROPOLIS.—ITS FAILURE THROUGH THE PERVERSITY OF THE GREEKS.—THE BATTLE OF ATHENS.—THE FALL OF THE ACROPOLIS.

[1827.]

AFTER the conquest of Missolonghi, by which all Western Greece was brought under Turkish dominion, Reshid Pasha lost no time in proceeding to drive the Greeks from Athens, their chief stronghold in the east. The siege of the town had been begun by Omar Pasha of Negropont, with a small Ottoman force, on the 21st of June, 1826. Reshid arrived on the 11th of July, and, after much previous fighting, stormed Athens so vigorously on the 14th of August,

that the inhabitants were forced to abandon it. Many of them, however, took refuge in the Acropolis, where a strong garrison was established under the tyrannical rule of Goura, and in this fortress the defence was maintained for nearly two months. Goura died in October, and the rivalries of the officers whom he had held in awe, now allowed to have free exercise, threatened to make easy the further triumph of the besiegers. The citadel must have surrendered, but for the timely arrival of Karaïskakes and Fabvier, each with a strong body of troops, who diverted the enemy by formidable attacks in the rear. Karaïskakes and his force continued, with various success, to watch and harass the enemy from without. On the 12th of December Fabvier, by a brilliant exploit, forced his way into the Acropolis with about six hundred men. He had intended only to give it temporary relief, but many of the native chiefs, gladly taking advantage of the arrival of a body for which, conjointly with the garrison already established, there was not room in the fortress, hastily departed. Thus the leadership of the garrison, comprising about a thousand soldiers, with whom were four or five hundred women and children, and more than forty Philhellenes from France, Switzerland, Germany, and Italy, devolved upon Colonel Fabvier. The besiegers numbered about seven thou-

sand picked soldiers, including a regiment of cavalry veterans and a good train of artillery. The Greek regulars and irregulars, including a corps of Philhellenes, commanded by Captain Inglesi, who attempted to raise the siege, varied, at different times, from two or three thousand to seven or eight thousand.

That was the state of affairs when Lord Cochrane arrived in Greece. That the expulsion of the Turks from Attica and the recovery of Athens was the first great work to be attempted was clear to every one, whether native or Philhellene, who had the welfare of Greece at heart; but opinions varied as to the best mode of procedure. Nearly all previous efforts had been aimed at the direct attack of the besiegers in Athens and its neighbourhood. General Gordon had established a camp of about three thousand men at Munychia, the hill from which, two and twenty centuries before, Thrasybulus had gone down to deliver Athens from the thirty tyrants; and Karaïskakes, with some two thousand five hundred followers, was stationed at Keratsina, on the other side of the Piræus. But the operations of both leaders were restrained by Reshid Pasha's establishment of a garrison in the monastery of Saint Spiridion, midway between the two camps; and, without wiser leaders than the Greeks had hitherto possessed, there seemed

small chance of their chasing the enemy from his strong positions. Another plan, feebly recommended, and yet more feebly attempted before Lord Cochrane's arrival, was to starve him out by intercepting the supplies of provisions that were brought from Turkey by way of the northern channel of the Negropont, to be sent overland from Oropos, a well-fortified magazine on the northern shore of Attica.

Lord Cochrane saw at once that this latter course was the one most likely to be of service, or, at any rate, the one rightly devolving upon him, while General Church was pursuing his operations nearer to Athens; and he was strengthened in this conviction by discussion on the subject with General Gordon, who came for a short visit to Poros, on the 21st of March, in his own yacht. To this end he laboured while he was waiting for the reconciliation of parties and the official recognition of his employment as First Admiral. "The fate of Athens," he wrote, both to Kolokotrones and to Karaïskakes, on the 29th of March, "depends upon our depriving the enemy of the provisions obtained by him from the north. The general and the soldiers who first devote themselves to this object will have the glory of raising the siege. For myself, I offer the heartiest co-operation of the fleet, accompanied by two thousand brave marines, and the use of all the war-steamers and

transports in any port of eastern Attica. There is not a moment to be lost." This proposal was rejected by Kolokotrones. On the 2nd of April, Karaïskakes sent an ambiguous acceptance of it, which he cancelled on the 13th. "We are so mixed up with the enemy," he wrote, "that if we abandon the smallest of our positions we must resign ourselves to the loss of all. The Turks are so embarrassed by us that they can offer only a feeble siege to the Acropolis. Of this I am assured by several Greeks who have lately come from their camp. Therefore, my lord, I am deterred from assailing the enemy from the north; and I have the boldness to assure and promise you that, if you will aid me here, Athens will be free in a few days. With the help of two thousand good recruits, the enemy will not be able to resist our enthusiasm. I implore you, in the name of Greece, to assist me as soon as possible with the means of destroying him and of saving Athens."

That letter, and the advice of all in office, whether military or civil, to the same effect, altered Lord Cochrane's plans. "As he," said Gordon, who afterwards blamed him on this account, "unacquainted with the country and the language, could not form a correct judgment on the innumerable reports transmitted to him, it is not surprising that he was deceived by letters written from the Acropolis, and

entrusted to soldiers who, disguised as Turks or Albanians, slipped from time to time through the enemy's lines. In these epistles, Fabvier and the other chiefs painted their situation in the blackest colours, carefully concealing the fact of their having provisions for many months."* By them native Greeks and foreigners long resident in the country were deceived. Lord Cochrane, still clinging to his project for injuring the Turks by cutting off their supplies, was constrained to defer it for the present, and in compliance with the requests of the Government, of General Church, and of Karaïskakes, to co-operate in the direct attack upon the enemy in the Piræus. "I now agree with you," he wrote to the latter, on the 14th of April, "that the time is past when a movement in the rear of the Turks, and the cutting off of their provisions, could have the effect of saving the Acropolis, and I see clearly the justice of your observation that a decisive blow must be struck at once against the enemy. The eyes of Europe are turned towards Greece, and on the success or failure of the measures now to be adopted depends

* Gordon, vol. ii., p. 386. As Gordon was with Lord Cochrane at the time, and on intimate relations with him, it is strange, unless he himself, with far less excuse, shared the error for which he blamed him, that he did not advise him to pursue his former plan. Compare Trikoupes, vol. iv., p. 137, who blames and involuntarily acquits Lord Cochrane almost in the same breath.

the support of your glorious cause, or its abandonment in despair."

Something was done by Lord Cochrane at once, however, towards the fulfilment of his first design. He despatched Captain Abney Hastings, with the *Karteria* and five other vessels, to the Gulf of Volo and the Channel of Negropont, with orders to seize as many Turkish provision-ships as he could there find within the next fourteen days. One expedition was very successful. Off Volo, on the 20th of April, Hastings found eight transports protected by the guns of the fort. He silenced the guns, captured five of the vessels, and destroyed the other three. He then passed down the channel, and near Tricheri fell in with a Turkish brig-of-war, which, after some skilful fighting, he destroyed by shells that exploded her powder magazine. After that he proceeded to Kumi, where he captured a store of grain, and reached Poros within the time appointed.

In the meanwhile Lord Cochrane had gone to the Bay of Athens as soon as he could complete his arrangements for the present and future employment of the Greek shipping. "Four of the largest brigs at Poros are in process of equipment," he wrote to the Government on the 16th of April, "and five of the fastest small sailing vessels of Spetzas, and eight transports, with a thousand men, are ready

at Hydra to proceed on service. The frigate *Hellas* is victualled for two months, four gun-boats have been ordered to be built, and fireships are in progress in addition to those which were already fitted out. The expenses of these preparations have been, or will be, defrayed out of the funds in my possession. In addition to these disbursements, a very considerable sum, out of the money destined for the naval service, has been advanced by me for military purposes. I consider that the fate of Greece depends, in a great measure, on pecuniary aid from the rest of Europe, and such aid on the probability of ultimate success; but assuredly it will not be afforded if Greece proves unable or unwilling to exert herself against the handful of sickly and enfeebled Turks who continue to besiege the Acropolis of Athens."

On the 17th of April, Lord Cochrane passed from Poros to Salamis in the *Hellas*, attended by twelve brigs and schooners from Hydra and Spetzas. In his pay were a thousand Hydriots, two hundred Cretans, and a corps of Roumeliots. On the same day, General Church embarked with three thousand soldiers collected in the Morea, under Gennaios Kolokotrones, Chrisanthos Sessini, and others. These new supplies, with the troops already at Keratsina and Munychia, composed a force of about ten thousand men.

Five days were spent in organising this force, over which Sir Richard Church, though nominally generalissimo, had very little real command. The delay and the want of discipline which caused it were alike annoying to Lord Cochrane, whose little fleet was anchored in the small Bay of Phalerum, his Hydriot recruits, under Major Gordon Urquhart, being established on the adjoining shore. On the 18th he received a four hours' visit on board the *Hellas* from Karaïskakes, a tall, bony, athletic man, small-featured, and swarthy, with flashing eyes, and a lively tongue, about forty years of age. On the 19th he and General Church went to inspect the camp of the famous Greek leader at Keratsina. It gave but slight evidence of military organization, and both officers and men appeared to Lord Cochrane more willing to talk than to fight. His presence among them, however, stirred up a new and fitful enthusiasm. On this occasion he brought with him a large blue and white flag, with an owl, the national emblem of Greece, painted on the centre, which had been conveyed from Marseilles. The flag was unfurled in the presence of seven thousand Greek soldiers, within sight of the Turkish camp. Through his interpreter, Lord Cochrane briefly addressed the soldiers, urging them, for love of their country, and for their own honour and welfare, to unite in a prompt and

vigorous attack on the enemy. Then, firmly planting the flag in the ground, he exclaimed, "Soldiers, whoever of you will lodge this flag on the summit of the Acropolis, shall receive from me, as a reward of his bravery, a thousand dollars, and ten times that sum shall be my share of the recompense to the force that accompanies him!" Great applause, of course, followed that announcement, but not much more than applause.

Lord Cochrane's popularity with the troops and their leaders, for the time at any rate, was unbounded. Karaïskakes, Niketas, Zavella, Notaras, Makriyannes, Gennaios Kolokotrones, and all the other captains vied with one another in offering fulsome adulation to him, and pledging themselves to yield implicit obedience to his instructions. By word, indeed, they were more submissive than he wished. He had to remind them that he was admiral of the fleet, not generalissimo on land, and that the latter office was held by Sir Richard Church. Unfortunately, Karaïskakes and his followers were, from the first, jealous of General Church; and General Church, accustomed only to the management of a small disciplined band, was unequal to the troublesome duties appertaining to him as controller of a heterogeneous crowd of irregular soldiers, most of them trained as brigands, and accustomed to the half-lawless rule of their own petty

officers. Hardly a day passed in which he did not complain bitterly to Lord Cochrane of the obstructions thrown in his way; and Lord Cochrane had to take upon himself the thankless functions of a mediator between a good-hearted commander-in-chief and his disaffected subordinates.

This state of things would at any time have been irksome to him. It was especially so in the condition of affairs represented to him. Each day fresh reports were brought of the desperate state of the Acropolis. "The affairs of the fortress of Athens," we read in one document, signed by seven leaders of the besieged, and dated the 22nd of April, "have arrived at a very critical height, and no longer any remedy is expected from within, and therefore the besieged are obliged to address themselves to the Government of Greece and to the commanders of her forces, and to urge them to adopt the best, the speediest, and the most efficient measures to relieve the citadel. The Government and the commanders have always replied with promises of the most positive kind to raise the siege in a very few days. We can no longer believe their word. To give you further intelligence, we send now five men, who will tell you verbally what we cannot describe. If, however, they do not persuade you, we tell you this is our last letter. We will wait five days longer,

and we can hold out no more. We have been brothers, and remain so during dearth, sickness, and all evils. Our nature is like that of all men: we can suffer no more than others. We are neither angels nor workers of miracles, to raise the dead, or do impossible things. If any evil should happen, we are not to blame, nor has God to condemn us in anything." The bearers of this letter, and others who brought a like report, were carefully examined by Lord Cochrane, and by them he was solemnly assured that the garrison of the Acropolis, destitute of provisions and every other necessary, could not possibly hold out more than five days longer.

He and all others were deceived; but he alone thoroughly felt the urgent need of instant action. "As I perceive the ruin of Greece," he wrote to Karaïskakes on the 23rd of April, "in the delay now taking place, and as I have every reason to believe that intrigues are carrying on by persons of desperate fortune and worthless character, with a view to promote their private ends, they not being aware that the subjection of Greece to a foreign power will ultimately destroy the hopes which they entertain, I take the liberty of urging, as an officer who has some character to lose in this affair, that your excellency should caution the officers of your army against the vain belief that intrigues at the present moment can

produce any other effect than the ruin of themselves and their country. The education which my countrymen, in common with myself, have received, leads to an attachment to the cause of Greece amounting to enthusiasm, and this feeling cannot but be increased by viewing the monuments of her ancient grandeur. I am ready to do my utmost to promote the interests of your country, but I am by no means willing to allow myself to be made the puppet of intriguers. I shall put an end to intrigue in the navy or I shall quit it, and I trust your excellency will excuse me if I adopt the same resolutions respecting the army, if you yourself cannot put it down. I have been but a short time in Greece, but have taken effectual measures to obtain that sort of information which is necessary for my guidance. This has led me to the resolution to act by myself and for Greece, so far as I can, whenever I find that others are either disinclined or unable to co-operate. I have moved the transports close to the Phalerum in order that they may be more conveniently situated when I shall learn the determination of your excellency and the officers in your camp. If that determination is to relieve Athens before the night of the 26th is passed, the marines whom I have hired, paid, and victualled, shall co-operate; if not, I shall try to render them serviceable

in some other quarter, and I will denounce to the world as traitors to their country those intriguers who are the cause of the captivity and perhaps annihilation of the garrison in the Acropolis. My advice to your excellency is, that passing the tambourias by night, without firing a shot, you join our troops in the olive-grove, where I will take care they shall meet your excellency, if such is your pleasure. I have been anxious that the glory of relieving Athens should accrue to a Greek, and especially to your excellency. That object I am ready to promote by every means in my power. The friendly manner in which we the other day met will cause me to regret, if in my next letter I shall be obliged to bid your excellency adieu for ever."

That letter to Karaïskakes was followed by one, written on the 24th, to General Church. "In forty-eight hours," wrote Lord Cochrane, "the question of relieving Athens will be at a close. I have told Karaïskakes what I think of the state of affairs, and have made up my mind to act accordingly; taking upon myself all the responsibility of not looking longer on tambouria disputes whilst it seems resolved by the Greeks themselves not to march to the relief of Athens. I have not sent the transports to Attica to raise the miserable inhabitants at this late hour, when too late for them to be of the least use in

relieving the Acropolis. If I had done so, I should have the load on my conscience of causing their heads to be struck off. I can assure you, Sir Richard, that Colonel Gordon and myself laboured long ago to prevail on Karaïskakes to do this, but he resisted every application, for reasons which it will be well if he can satisfactorily explain hereafter. If your men will not come on, and Karaïskakes's men will not in the night pass those miserable tambourias, which in that case are no impediment, what is the use of my detaining the squadron here?" I have viewed the bugbear of a convent this day from opposite sides, and it is no more in Karaïskakes's way than the church of Poros.

"Since writing the above," Lord Cochrane added, "I have received your note requesting that six hundred men shall be transported hence to Karaïskakes's head-quarters in the rear. The naval funds have been expended and our funds exhausted in bringing forces nearer to the enemy. I am sure if you reflect on this demand of his, and that Karaïskakes's head-quarters are twice as far from Athens as the Phalerum, you will be of my opinion that it would be better to bring an equal number, or even the whole of Karaïskakes's force here, and endeavour immediately to do something effectual to save Fabvier and the garrison from the inevitable destruction

consequent on the present mode of proceeding. If Karaïskakes wants more men he wants them to take tambourias, and not to march past them as he ought, for his present position is of no use whatever. Do cause some rational mode of proceeding to be adopted, or let us give it up; for we are now only in the way by occasioning jealousy and promoting the vilest intrigues."

The "bugbear of a convent," which Karaïskakes wished first to capture, was the monastery of Saint Spiridion, occupied by a few scores of Turks, who from it overlooked the Greek encampments on each side, the one at Piræus, the other at Munychia, with a distant view of Lord Cochrane's station at Phalerum and of Sir Richard Church's on the other side. Finding that Karaïskakes would not join with Church and press on to Athens, at a distance of about seven miles, Lord Cochrane had urged the co-operation of all the forces at Cape Colias, whence the way to Athens was only about five miles long. Karaïskakes, however, refused this plan also. He maintained that the only safe course was to preserve his position and strengthen it by the formation of innumerable small circular earthworks, known as tambourias, within which the soldiers could crouch by day and lie securely on the bare ground at night. In this way he hoped to starve out the garrison at

Saint Spiridion, the capture of which he deemed essential before any formidable attempt was made upon the main body of the Turkish camp, in Athens and around it, and especially under the walls of the Acropolis. In vain Lord Cochrane urged that this mode of warfare, tardy and expensive enough at the best of times, was cruelly reprehensible when they considered the wretched state in which the garrison of the Acropolis was supposed to be, and the prospect of its speedy evacuation. Karaïskakes refused to move, answering each appeal by unreasonable demands upon Lord Cochrane for supplies of ammunition and provisions, which it was no part of his duty to supply out of the residue of the insignificant sum of 8,000*l.* supplied to him out of the Greek loan for naval purposes.* It may be that Karaïskakes—a bold and shrewd man—was not personally responsible for his inactivity. His army was little more than a commonwealth of small bands, of which each leader claimed an authoritative share in all deliberations, and owed, even to him, only a nominal subjection. But if we acquit him individually of cowardice, we only throw the greater blame on the Greek force as a whole. That it was blameworthy is clear. "Your

* Trikoupes, Gordon, Finlay, and all the other authorities, say that Lord Cochrane had 20,000*l.* He had only been supplied with 8,000*l*; and nearly all this sum had been already disposed of in fitting out the fleet at Poros, and paying the seamen's wages.

lordship," wrote Sir Richard Church in answer to the letter just quoted, "is not aware of all the difficulties I had to encounter in passing our troops, who had all struck for pay. Not one would move. However, that difficulty is now nearly over, and the greater part are passing to the camp at this moment."

Unexpected boldness was forced upon them on the 25th of April. "I am now in a position," wrote Lord Cochrane to General Church at eight o'clock in the morning from the Piræus, "to carry you all over to the rear of the enemy, if Karaïskakes's army have the courage to walk to this point, which is in their own possession, in order to land on the opposite shore at two hundred yards distance, and whereon is not a living soul. I can make such a diversion by means of the seamen at night as would enable Karaïskakes's army to move on by land towards the Phalerum, whilst those on the Phalerum, with the exception of a few, might take up a position near Athens or in the town. I can embark you and yours, and leave Karaïskakes's men without food, taking all the provisions to the advanced post, leaving him to starve or come on."

That desperate expedient was averted. Two or three hours after suggesting it, Lord Cochrane was superintending the debarkation of some thirty

soldiers, under cover of two gunboats. A party of Ottomans, seeing the operation, hurried down with the intention of harassing the new comers. Lord Cochrane's Hydriots, however, rushed to the rescue. Other Turkish troops came up, to be met by other Greeks, and the battle became general. Lord Cochrane, with nothing but his telescope in his hand, gathered the Christian troops round him, and, with encouraging words, led them on in an orderly attack upon the entrenchments about the monastery of Saint Spiridion. Within an hour, nine entrenchments were in the hands of the Greeks, who lost only eight men. Sixty Turks were slain, and then their comrades fled, most of them hurrying up to the camp of Athens, a few betaking themselves to the convent. "The Greeks," wrote Lord Cochrane to the Government, "have this day done as their forefathers were wont to do. Henceforth commences a new era in the system of modern Grecian warfare. If every one behaves to-morrow as all, without exception, have behaved to-day, the siege of the Acropolis will be raised and the liberty of Greece secured."

By this success the Turks, with exception of the garrison in the convent, were driven back to the neighbourhood of Athens, and Karaïskakes was encouraged to remove his camp from Keratsina to the

Piræus. At a council of war held the same evening, Lord Cochrane urged a sudden and united attack upon the Turkish camp on the morrow. Karaïskakes, however, declined to move a step further until the monastery was captured, and, as General Church agreed with this view, Lord Cochrane assented to it.

Early next morning the bombardment of the monastery was begun. The *Hellas*, commanded by Miaoulis, discharged her heavy guns upon it during several hours, with such effect that it seemed to be only a mass of ruins. It was feebly invested by Karaïskakes on land. But its garrison held out with excellent bravery. Thrice the Greeks tried to storm it; but thrice they were driven back.

In the evening the Turks solicited an armistice, and offered to capitulate on condition that they should be allowed to retire with all their arms and properties: and this proposal Karaïskakes was inclined to accept. Lord Cochrane, however, contended that they should have nothing but bare life. While this was being discussed, the Turks perfidiously assassinated a Greek messenger sent to treat with them, and fired upon a boat in which Lord Cochrane's secretary, Mr. Edward Masson, was carrying the flag of truce. Thereupon, the Chief Admiral refused to hear any more of a compromise. Returning to his ship, he ordered the bombardment

of the convent to be resumed, and besought Karaïskakes to continue storming it by land.

This was done throughout the 27th, but unsuccessfully, because unwillingly. The Greeks asserted that the Turkish garrison was utterly without provisions and water. Lord Cochrane urged that, if it was so, a small detachment of the Greek army and the ships of war would suffice for its investment, while the main force marched boldly on to Athens before the terror inspired by its recent achievements had died out. He reproached them with cowardice, and threatened to leave them unless they took prompt measures for completing their triumph. "The services of the navy," he wrote to Karaïskakes, "are immediately required for other purposes than those of attending upon an inactive army. My duty I am determined to execute in all possible ways in which my services can benefit Greece. I shall therefore be gratified if, in reply to this letter, you will inform me if it is in your power to make the army advance, and if that advance will take place before to-morrow night. It will give me the greatest pleasure to co-operate with you in all manner of ways, but my desire to that effect is rendered null if those under your orders will not conform to your wishes or obey your commands."

To the same effect Lord Cochrane wrote, on the

following morning, to General Church. "The convent and its walls," he said, "have been levelled to the ground. The rubbish alone remains on the southern side towards the shipping; and it appears that not more than one hundred of those it contained, or who fled within its walls for safety, now remain to oppose, or assault, or threaten, the rear of the Greek army, should you be able to prevail on its leaders to advance. I should remind those leaders that, independently of the army, I have full fifteen hundred men under my command, a thousand of whom, being on shore now at this port, are more than sufficient to blockade these ruins or destroy all within; which last event might have taken place yesterday had it not been that the seamen were removed from the positions which they had stormed and taken, in the neighbourhood of the convent, and soldiers placed in their stead—a circumstance which seems to have given them offence, so that they leave the storming of the ruins of the convent to those thus placed, as they say, in the post of honour. These feelings, in such minds—however proper the proceedings may have been in a military point of view—I cannot prevent or remove. Time, provisions, and money, are wasting in inaction. The enemy is concentrating troops and fortifying positions around Athens, each of which positions will be a pretext for delay; even

were I not aware that abundant excuses of other kinds will not be wanting—such as the arrival of a few hundred cavalry from Negropont or the like; so that I really begin to despair of one step being made in advance for the relief of the Acropolis. I know the difficulties of your situation, and I fear that they are more than even your energy can surmount. When you shall have done your utmost towards the end we have in view, I shall make one effort for the safety of the unfortunate women and children who are threatened with immediate destruction or perpetual slavery. Pray let me have a decisive reply as to what is to be done, and when."

General Church's reply is instructive. "I have read your letter with great attention," he wrote, "and fully enter into your view of affairs. The Hydriots are unquestionably the best to storm, if anybody will storm. The soldiers that they say have taken their post were placed to co-operate in a general assault, and I had made an arrangement with a chief who certainly displayed considerable courage the other day. I gave him directions to collect a band, or forlorn hope, of volunteers to lead with, and he is to have five hundred dollars for himself and five hundred for his band. Had it not rained—however ridiculous it may seem to say so—I am sure that a storming party would have advanced yesterday

evening, and I hope it will do so to-day. In fact, the rain yesterday almost dispersed the whole camp, and many of our outposts were quite abandoned. If the Hydriots will advance, I will order the others away immediately. You have no idea of my anxiety to move on, and I cannot express it. Karaïskakes is at this moment going round his outposts. As soon as he returns, I shall send for him and combine with him, *bon gré mal gré*, an advance for to-night or to-morrow. I will let you know as soon as we have had our conference. I think, my lord, that if the weather clears up, we shall be able still to storm, and perhaps a little firing again would have the effect of rousing the fellows."

Soldiers who could only fight in fine weather were hardly fit to rescue Greece in the heaviest pressure of her misfortunes. On the previous night something like a mutiny had been occasioned by Lord Cochrane's complaints at their inactivity. Even Karaïskakes sympathised with his captains. "We shall not go well with these English," he said; "I fear they will ruin us by their impatience. They cannot restrain themselves. But we must make the best we can of them." Sir Richard Church, fired with Lord Cochrane's ardour, would not be made the best of, according to the views of Karaïskakes and his followers. The letter from him last quoted was

followed within an hour by a brief one:—"My lord, I have the honour to inform you that I have given over the command to General Karaïskakes."

Karaïskakes and the Greek officers were thus left, at about ten o'clock in the morning of the 28th, to work out their own devices. At eleven, Lord Cochrane received orders to cease the firing which he had reopened from the guns of the *Hellas*. The movements which, through his telescope, he saw in process within the convent walls and at its gate induced him to send strict orders to Major Urquhart to withdraw his Hydriot marines from their post near the convent, and station them on the summit of Munychia.

The Turks had again sent offers of capitulation, and Karaïskakes, now uncontrolled by Lord Cochrane or General Church, and in contempt of his positive assertion, made two days before, that the garrison had not a ration of provisions left and could easily be starved into utter submission, had acceded to their terms. It was agreed that they were to be allowed to surrender with all the honours of war. Bearing their arms and all their property, they were to pass unmolested into the Turkish camp on the hills. Karaïskakes must be blamed for this excess of generosity; but, to his credit be it stated, that, having agreed to the capitulation, he took all reason-

able care to have it honourably observed. Along the road leading from the gate of the convent to the fortifications on the hills he ranged soldiers on either side, in order that the Turks might be protected from the crowd of less disciplined soldiers. All looked well as the two hundred and seventy men, women, and children who had been locked within the shattered building passed out of it and began their march. But no sooner was the convent evacuated than a swarm of Greeks rushed into it, each hoping to seize the largest share of the booty which they expected to find. They found nothing, and then angrily rushed out again to inform their comrades of their disappointment.

Lord Cochrane watched their proceedings from the deck of the *Unicorn*, General Gordon and Mr. Finlay, who was then serving as a volunteer on Gordon's staff, being by his side. "All those men will be murdered!" exclaimed Mr. Finlay, pointing to the retreating Turks. Lord Cochrane, not yet initiated in all the depths of Greek treachery, turned in horror to General Gordon and said, "Do you hear what he says?" "My lord," answered Gordon, "I fear it is too true."*

And so it proved. A Greek soldier, pushing through the guard, snatched at the sword of one of

* Finlay, vol. ii., p. 148.

the Turks passing along the line. The Turk resisted, and a scuffle followed. Two or three other Turks raised their muskets and fired. A score of Greeks at once retaliated. A shadow of an excuse was thus afforded to the Christians for wreaking vengeance for all the ills they had endured from the enemy, and for giving vent to their anger at finding no prizes in the deserted convent. A horrible massacre ensued. Two hundred or more Turks were murdered. Less than seventy escaped. "Forgive me, as I forgive you," shouted Karaïskakes to the Moslems, after vainly trying to stay the slaughter; "I can do nothing more for you."

"Islanders," wrote Lord Cochrane, in a proclamation to his Hydriot force, "I was no party to the capitulation this day. Fearing that some outrage might be committed, I sent you an order to retire; and I glory in the consciousness that I have saved you as well as myself from being inculpated in the most horrid scene I ever beheld,—a scene which freezes my blood, and which cannot be palliated by any barbarities which the Turks have committed on you. I send you the thousand dollars which I promised should be distributed, as a reward for your valour and for your obedience to my directions, which you will ever find lead to the path of honour and humanity and the duty we owe to your country."

Utter confusion among the Greeks resulted, for a time, from the barbarous massacre of Saint Spiridion. The soldiers quarrelled and fought over the blood-stained spoil. The officers were occupied with mutual recriminations and excuses regarding their several shares in the atrocity. Karaïskakes found himself unable to establish order, and had to entreat Sir Richard Church to take back his surrendered authority.

To this General Church assented on the promise that, if he did so, he should be aided in bringing the chief wrong-doers to justice. Indeed, both he and Lord Cochrane hoped, for a little while, that their very misconduct, filling the Greeks with shame and penitence, would incline them to listen to the counsels in which they both saw the only chance of safety to the garrison of the Acropolis. "The destinies of Greece," wrote Lord Cochrane to Karaïskakes, on the 29th of April, "the fate of your army, and the character of its chiefs, are now wholly in the hands of your excellency. You and you alone will be held responsible for all that shall happen. The hour of clemency for Greece is past; the sword alone can decide the contest. Courage is a characteristic of men who deserve to be free. Let then the conduct of a few atrocious individuals yesterday be effaced by a march direct to Athens, at least to

relieve the women and children now doomed to destruction, if prompt exertions be not made to save them. Your excellency has hitherto treated my friendly advice in a manner which I did not anticipate; but the world will judge between the course you have taken and that which I wished you, for the benefit of your country, to pursue. I shall wait three days for your excellency's reply, when it will be my duty, if the fortress be not relieved, to attend exclusively to naval affairs. I hope you will reflect on the glory you may yet attain by saving your country, and on the ruinous consequences of persevering in inaction until the last resources of war shall be exhausted."

Karaïskakes's only answer was that the army was in urgent need of spades and shovels, with which he hoped that Lord Cochrane would supply him, as without those means of making fresh tambourias he could not move from his encampment. Lord Cochrane was reasonably indignant. "I confess," he wrote in reply, "that I am now in despair of your making any movement for the relief of the Acropolis, because I have now ascertained that, all the obstacles which first presented themselves to your excellency being overcome, others successively present themselves, to put off the day of your march to the Acropolis. I have made a diversion here this day in

favour of your excellency, which, by all the rules of military tactics, must increase the relative strength of your army and facilitate its march. My time and attention must now be devoted to naval matters, and unless you advance this evening, I shall have deeply and bitterly to regret, for the sake of Greece, that I ever put faith in anything being accomplished by individuals to whom so many difficulties, which my experience has taught me to be imaginary, present themselves. I recal to your excellency's recollection your promises and assurances, and I call upon you to make some effort to save your country from inevitable ruin. I solemnly declare that it is my opinion that a thousand men who would obey orders and do their duty are more than are necessary to perform the task at which your excellency hesitates. I shall be oppressed with grief if, after the scene of yesterday, I am compelled to return, first, to the seat of Government, and next to Europe, without having witnessed any deed that can tend to obliterate the stain thereby affixed on the Grecian people."

"I am making my last effort," wrote Lord Cochrane to Dr. Gosse, "to get Karaïskakes to advance. The monastery is taken, its defenders are destroyed, and now the sheepfold on the other side of the Phalerum is the obstacle. We want mortars, shells, and

fuses, shoes for the seamen, and food for the mob denominated falsely the army of Greece."

The letter to Karaïskakes had some effect. On the 30th of April, General Church wrote to say that he had persuaded the Greek captains to agree unanimously to an immediate movement against Athens. Two thousand men were to go, during the following night, by water to the neighbourhood of Cape Colias, and thence march stealthily to a hill about a mile south of Athens, which they hoped to seize and secure under cover of the darkness. During the next evening, a force about twice as large was to join them by the same route, and all were to do their best to drive the Turks from their encampments round the Acropolis. This was Lord Cochrane's plan; and there can be no doubt that it would have been successful had the Greeks acted upon it and done their duty.

Unfortunately they did neither. Having promised overnight, they found reasons in the morning for breaking their promises. Nothing was done on the 1st of May, and Lord Cochrane, tired of their excuses for procrastination, paid a brief visit to the authorities at Poros. The result was, that he thought of going without the Greek leaders. "I have seen the Government," he wrote to Sir Richard Church on the 2nd, "and prepared them for the worst, should things go on as they have hitherto done. They are

incapable of applying any remedy. Therefore, the more credit will be due to you if you shall be enabled to save the garrison of the Acropolis; in which endeavour count on my utmost exertions and most unlimited co-operation. I hope now you will be able to act without Karaïskakes. In addition to your own people, I can provide two thousand marines, seamen, and volunteers. With these, if you land at night to the eastward, you may be in the neighbourhood of Athens in two hours; and then there is the garrison of fifteen hundred in addition to co-operate, making in the whole a force of nearly five thousand, without taking a soldier from Karaïskakes's tambourias. If, however, you judge well to have volunteers from Karaïskakes's camp, I shall offer 200,000 piastres amongst all who will accompany you or meet you at Athens; by which means I have little doubt you will find Karaïskakes deserted, and the whole mob at the gates of Athens. All the vessels are at your service."

Sir Richard Church feared to undertake the exploit without the co-operation of Karaïskakes, and, on again consulting him, he was informed that a fresh supply of entrenching tools was necessary. Lord Cochrane immediately sent messengers to procure them, but was none the less annoyed at what seemed to him an unnecessary excuse, and again threatened

to take his ships where they could do good work for Greece. "You have done everything in your power," wrote Sir Richard to him on the 3rd of May, "and so have I. The soldiers will not embark without the entrenching tools. All we could collect do not amount to two hundred and fifty. I would have gone without one, but no one will follow me. I cannot say more; but to-morrow we may be more fortunate. I cannot say to you stay or otherwise. If you go, I cannot deplore it more than yourself."

Lord Cochrane consented to wait till the morrow, and on the morrow an incident occurred which caused a little further delay. On the 4th of May a small body of Greeks, chiefly Hydriots, went on a skirmishing expedition. At first they were successful, and they had nearly won a redoubt, when a large force of Turks suddenly assailed them on the flank, and drove them back to Phalerum with a loss of nearly a hundred men. Karaïskakes, hearing of this reverse, hurried to the rescue, and with the bravery which was never wanting to him when in actual battle, sought to rally the fugitives. He was on the point of leading them back, when a ball from a pistol struck him in the belly. He was conveyed, in a dying state, to General Church's schooner. Regret at his previous vacillations seems to have filled his mind. "Where is Cochrane? Bring

Cochrane to me!" he exclaimed over and over again. Lord Cochrane soon arrived. Karaïskakes, on seeing him, murmured repeated thanks to him for his forbearance towards himself and his devotion to the cause of the Greeks. In his eagerness, he seized the interpreter, Mr. Masson, by the beard, and, pointing towards Cape Colias, said, with all the strength he could muster, "Tell them to be sure to land the division over there to-morrow." Then, not doubting that the expedition would be successful, he uttered solemn thanks to Heaven that he was dying in the moment of victory. Then he made his will—a soldier's will. "I leave my sword and my gun to my son. Tell him to remember they belonged to Karaïskakes." He had little else to leave, having always been free from the avarice by which many of his countrymen were disgraced. He died in the night, and in him Greece lost the worthiest of her native warriors. His faults were the faults of his nation. Many of his virtues were his own. Had his followers been as brave and honest as he was in his best moments, he might have led them on to easy victory. But they wavered and procrastinated, and, in listening to their excuses, he lost his chance of triumph and subjected himself to blame, for which his brave death only half atoned.

On the evening of the 4th, Lord Cochrane assem-

bled the Greek captains at Munychia, and telling them of their leader's dying message, asked whether they were ready to obey it. For some time they made no answer. At length, on the question being repeated, they replied that they thought they had only been brought thither to hear from the Admiral words of consolation for the loss they had sustained in the death of the brave and wise Karaïskakes. Being asked a third time whether they would obey the dying injunction of the leader for whom they now mourned so much, they answered that they were not ready, that the army was in disorder, that some of them were occupied in burying the slain, that some were tending the wounded, and that all desired to stay near their chief as long as the soul was in his body, and to have at any rate the opportunity of kissing his body before its burial.

With some bitterness, Lord Cochrane replied that such an excess of grief was inopportune, and that their love for Karaïskakes would be best shown in obeying his last command. He added that, if they really refused to go to the rescue of the Acropolis, they would not need his presence on the coast and could not complain of his going to serve Greece elsewhere. Having said that, he returned to his ship.

He had not been long on board, however, when a messenger followed him with intelligence that the

army would adopt his plan and be ready, without fail, to proceed to the Acropolis on the following evening. There was no further procrastination, and throughout the next day preparations were being made for what one historian of the Greek Revolution calls "a whim,"* and another "an insane scheme."†

"The scheme," says one who was in close attendance on Lord Cochrane all through this time, Mr. Edward Masson, "was anything but insane. It was one of the most sober, safe, and practicable plans ever formed. The first and fundamental condition on which Lord Cochrane consented to co-operate in any plan of landing troops at Cape Colias was, that the troops landed should not expose themselves to an attack of cavalry in the plains, but should, on being landed, proceed by a night march, in compact order, and without halting, to a specified rocky height beyond the temple of Jupiter Olympus, a position which, it was admitted by all, they could hold with perfect safety during the day. From this position, the leaders were to try to communicate, by signals or otherwise, with the garrison, and, in concert with it, act as circumstances might dictate. Should the garrison resolve to make a sortie, the main body of the Greek army advancing simultaneously from the Phalerum, it was confidently hoped that the com-

* Trikoupes, vol. iv., p. 152. † Gordon, vol. ii., p. 392.

bined attack on the enemy would prove victorious; or, at least, would be so far successful, as to enable the Greeks to save the garrison and bring away the families. The great characteristic of the plan was, that nothing should be risked in reference to the enemy's cavalry, and that if the detachment should find they could accomplish nothing, they should, on the following night, return as they went, in safety, and be embarked for the Phalerum."

Unfortunately, the two main points on which Lord Cochrane had insisted were neglected, and thereby what must otherwise have been a brilliant victory was turned into a miserable defeat. He had insisted upon the movement from Cape Colias being aided by the march of the main body of the army direct from the Piræus to the hills, thus diverting the attention of many of the Turks while the advancing party and the garrison were uniting; but Zavella, to whom this part of the work had been entrusted, never moved at all. He had urged yet more strongly that the preparations for the advance should be so hastened as that all the ground should be travelled over during the night-time, while the Turks were in ignorance of it; but instead of that, the Greeks, though they were embarked at Phalerum by midnight, and landed at Cape Colias before two o'clock in the morning, loitered near the shore till daylight, so

that their whole enterprise was exposed to the enemy. The critics who have laid the blame of the disaster on Lord Cochrane have neglected to show how these circumstances caused the failure of the enterprise.

The story of the disaster of the 6th of May will be best told in the words of an eye-witness. "About three thousand soldiers," said Dr. Gosse, in a letter written to M. Eynard on the 23rd, "were embarked in the night between the 5th and the 6th of May, in a clear moonlight, and in the most perfect order, and promptly landed on the other shore. Up to that time everything favoured our enterprise; but the treason and negligence of the chiefs, and the indolence of some of the soldiers, altogether destroyed it. Instead of marching directly to Athens during the night, they employed themselves in constructing redoubt after redoubt, as bad as they were useless, of the sort called by them tambourias. We counted a dozen. Only the Suliots, the Candiots, commanded by Demetrius Kalerdji, two hundred regular troops, under the orders of Inglesi and D'aujourd'hui, and twenty-two Philhellenes, went in advance. Without any hindrance, they reached within cannon-shot of the Acropolis, towards Philippapus, so that, as I have heard, they could even speak with the besieged; but, having received no orders to enter, they waited until the day rendered their position hazardous.

The enemy thus had time to ascertain their weakness and to send against them eight hundred horsemen. Thrice these troops were repulsed. Vasso and Notaras, however, who covered the right flank, abandoned their posts, as they had done in the affair of the unfortunate Bourbakes, and thereby they caused confusion among the troops in the centre. The latter defended themselves with renewed valour, but yielded at last to the sabres of the Dehli cavalry. Then was exhibited such a panic as cannot be described. The soldiers who occupied the redoubts in the rear, and near to the place of debarkation, began to flee almost at the same time as those of Vasso, and threw themselves into the sea at the risk of being drowned. I was at this time with Lord Cochrane, who did not wish to mix himself up with the affair, when the sudden flight forced us at once to rejoin our boat, and even this was not done without great difficulty. General Church was also on the shore, and he too was only saved by the sloop which was waiting for him. The Turkish cavalry, after having killed or captured all the advanced party, rushed into the plain and made terrible havoc among the Greeks. Seven hundred of them were killed; and two hundred and forty were taken prisoners. The rest, numbering about two thousand, rushed down towards the sea, and would soon have been all

destroyed by the Turkish guns placed on the hills if the fire from the vessels off the coast had not kept the enemy at a respectful distance. They passed the day in a terrible uncertainty, but were sustained by the courage of certain chiefs, especially of Nicolo Serva, a Suliot captain; and in the following night they were embarked and carried back to Phalerum. While this portion of the army was being thus troubled, the Greeks, under the orders of Kisso Zavella, remained inactive. That chief quietly smoked his pipe, and when implored to march, was content to answer coldly, 'When they pay me I will go.' The troops of Kolokotrones the younger, and of Sessinis, deserted in the direction of Livonia. The Turks, taking advantage of the disorganized condition of the Greeks, attacked the Phalérum on the night of the 6th, but were repulsed."

Lord Cochrane's account of the battle sent to the Government on the 7th of May, though more general, supplies some other details. "The plan concocted previous to the death of General Karaïskakes," he said, "was carried into effect on the 6th, by his excellency General Church, with this difference in the execution of the service, that his excellency and myself were anxious that a rapid march should be made from the place of debarkation direct to Athens, by a body of four thousand men, in

order to return with the women and children and the wounded, whereas the officers of the army insisted upon entrenchments being made in the line of their progress—an operation which required so much time, as to preclude the possibility of effecting the object surprised and unopposed. The redoubts were in progress of construction, and the work continued with unremitting labour, until about nine o'clock in the morning, when the enemy's cavalry, having collected from all quarters, broke in upon the unfinished redoubts and vigorously attacked those who had advanced the furthest, and who, from the number of subdivisions left, according to the custom of the country, in these redoubts during their progress, had become so weakened as to be incapable of making effectual resistance. The loss on our side has been very considerable. I had to lament this day that the Greeks still continue their aversion to that regularity of movement and honesty of action which constitute the strength of armies, and I grieve to see great bravery rendered useless to their country and dangerous to themselves, and wasted in desultory and unsupported personal efforts. The use of the bayonet and very slight military instruction would have saved most of those who fell on this occasion, and would have rendered unnecessary those redoubts which delay the progress of your arms, and destroy

more men in insignificant enterprises which tend to no result, than would be required for the deliverance of your country. The affairs of Greece require energy, and that remedy be at once applied to whatever impedes the progress of affairs."

Lord Cochrane testified to the excellent soldiership of the Turkish horsemen. With sabres and short muskets they dashed in and out of the crowd of retreating Greeks, who, having no bayonets and no weapons adapted for close fighting, were utterly defenceless. He himself, having landed with Dr. Gosse to watch the operations from the shore, was so hard pressed by these formidable antagonists that he was only rescued by his own bravery and the daring of Dr. Gosse, who retained possession of the boat which was waiting for him on the shore until his chief had time to force his way back to it through the crowd of fighting Turks and Greeks and through the waves beating up to his neck. It was only when he was again on board the *Hellas*, and able to direct the firing of the guns, that the Turks were driven back, and the remnant of the Greek force was allowed to collect and prepare for the return to Phalerum.

The fall of the Acropolis soon followed this terrible defeat. By it the Greeks were utterly disorganized. Lord Cochrane, finding it impossible to

persuade them to another attempt, returned to Poros with the fleet on the 10th of May. Sir Richard Church remained at Munychia, his army being every hour reduced by desertions, till the 27th, when he and the two thousand starving men who were left to him abandoned their position. Fabvier and the garrison, through the intervention of the French Captain Le Blanc and Admiral De Rigny, capitulated on the 5th of June. It was then found that the Acropolis still contained stores of food and ammunition sufficient for four months' use, and that their reports of destitution had been deliberate falsehoods, intended only to force their friends outside to come speedily to their relief.

Those falsehoods had been particularly mischievous. By them, as has been shown, Lord Cochrane was induced to listen to the entreaties of Karaïskakes and the Government, and take his ships to Phalerum, instead of carrying out his plan of stopping the Turkish supplies in the Negropont and at Oropos. Had that plan been adhered to, it seems as if a very different issue might easily have been brought about.

The work on which he had been engaged having terminated so unfortunately, Lord Cochrane was much blamed for it by critics who had private reasons for being jealous. We have shown, however, that he only entered upon that work at the request

of men whose power and influence he could not gainsay; that, having undertaken it, he set himself shrewdly and earnestly to render it successful; and that the failure was occasioned, not by adoption of his plans, but by their perversion or rejection. If he erred, he erred only in expecting too much patriotism and valour from the people whom he was doing his utmost to serve.

If anything further need be said in explanation and defence of Lord Cochrane's position up to this time, it will be best done by quoting part of a letter addressed to M. Eynard on the 27th of May, in which he concisely repeated the whole story. "On my arrival in Greece," he wrote, "I found that the authority was claimed by two factions, that nothing like a navy existed, and that a number of individuals called an army were collected to raise the siege of Athens,—but wholly deficient in military talent on the part of the commanders, or in obedience and discipline on the part of the troops. As soon as I had accepted my commission, I commenced active exertions to save the Acropolis. I advised Karaïskakes to embark and land to the southward and eastward of the Phalerum, and, marching direct to the Acropolis, bring out the women and children. But my counsel was in vain, as he had no idea of any combined naval and military movement, nor indeed

of any military plan, except that of advancing by slow steps, after the manner of the Turks, who construct little fortifications, called tambourias, at every few hundred yards, which are again opposed by others of the adverse party; and, as neither army attacks these forts by active force, the whole, after a few hours, are brought to a stand, and the result of the contest depends on who can the longest continue to furnish pay and provisions. Such was the state of the military contest when General Church took the command. The battle at Phalerum, though brilliant, was accidental, and, not being followed up, was productive of no result. Karaïskakes fell, and General Church embarked the troops in order to execute the movement that ought to have taken place a month before. The moment was more inauspicious than we were aware of; for the Turkish commander had that very night been joined by a large body of cavalry and a number of infantry from Negropont and elsewhere. This, however, would not have proved decisive, had not General Church, with a view to conciliate the officers under his command, and indeed in order to induce them to embark at all upon the expedition, conformed to their absurd views of military movement, and permitted them to carry entrenching tools to form their usual numerous positions on the line of their route, the construction

of which wholly defeated the intention of surprise, and enabled the enemy to surround their advanced guard or van, weakened by the division of the troops into fourteen garrisons left in a line in their advance, whereas the whole body might, with perfect safety and in two hours, have reached the Acropolis. The slaughter which the Turks made in the advanced posts of the Greeks was horrible, and the panic which took possession of those who remained on the Phalerum, at three leagues' distance from the scene of action, was as disgraceful as the conduct of their chief, Zavella, who made no movement even to create a diversion, but sat coolly looking at the slaughter of his countrymen. With six thousand men under his command he remained totally inactive. This expedition to Athens cost upwards of twenty-five thousand dollars of the naval money and destroyed most of our provisions. At the same time, I believed it to be my duty to act as I did, and I have not since regretted any step that I took, because, if Fabvier and the garrison fall into the hands of the Turks and are destroyed, I shall at least have the consolation of knowing that my utmost efforts were made to avert their fate.'

CHAPTER XIX.

LORD COCHRANE'S RETURN TO POROS.—HIS ATTEMPTS TO ORGANISE AN EFFICIENT GREEK NAVY.—THE WANT OF FUNDS AND THE APATHY OF THE GREEKS.—HIS LETTER TO THE PSARIANS, AND HIS VISITS TO HYDRA AND SPETZAS.—HIS CRUISE ROUND THE MOREA.—HIS FIRST ENGAGEMENT WITH THE TURKS.—THE DISORGANIZATION OF HIS GREEK SAILORS.—HIS CAPTURE OF A VESSEL BEARING THE BRITISH FLAG, LADEN WITH GREEK PRISONERS.—SEIZURE OF PART OF RESHID PASHA'S HAREM.—IBRAHIM PASHA'S NARROW ESCAPE.—LORD COCHRANE'S FURTHER DIFFICULTIES.—HIS EXPEDITION TO ALEXANDRIA.—ITS FAILURE THROUGH THE COWARDICE OF HIS SEAMEN.—HIS TWO LETTERS TO THE PASHA OF EGYPT.—HIS RETURN TO POROS.—FURTHER EFFORTS TO IMPROVE THE NAVY.—HIS VISIT TO SYRA.—THE TROUBLES OF THE GREEK GOVERNMENT.—LORD COCHRANE'S VISIT TO NAVARINO.—HIS DEFEAT OF A TURKISH SQUADRON.

[1827.]

BEFORE arriving in Greece, Lord Cochrane had been informed by Captain Abney Hastings and other experienced Philhellenes of the inefficiency of the navy, and a very short stay at Poros served to convince him of the truth of the information. On the 17th of April he obtained from the National Assembly a decree authorizing the organization of a better national fleet, and, before proceeding to join in the efforts for the relief of the Acropolis, he did all that

was possible towards the achievement of this object, making such arrangements as would prevent any hindrance thereto arising from his temporary absence on the most pressing work that devolved upon him. Having sent Captain Hastings with all the available ships on the expedition to the Negropont which has already been described, he established at Poros the centre of the administration of the fleet, entrusting its direction to Dr. Gosse, as Commissary-General. He then visited Hydra, Spetzas, and other islands, and left in each directions for the inspection of all the ships there stationed, in order that, according to the national decrees, the best of them might be bought up by the Government, on equitable terms, and converted into vessels of war at Poros. During his stay near the Piræus he was in almost daily correspondence with Dr. Gosse and Emanuel Tombazes respecting the purchase of stores, the construction of gunboats, and every other essential to the fulfilment of his purpose. He sent Jakomaki Tombazes, the elder of the two brothers, to look out near Candia for a new corvette which had just been built at Leghorn for the Pasha of Egypt. All other means in his power were adopted by him for augmenting the naval strength of Greece, and fitting it to oppose the force of her enemies so soon as he was able to devote himself exclusively to that work.

This he did promptly and zealously immediately after the failure of the expedition in favour of the garrison of the Acropolis. "Brave officers and soldiers and seamen of the military and naval services," he wrote in a proclamation issued on the 7th of May, "a defeat of the enemy's naval force will tenfold repay the check which was sustained in yesterday's attempt to relieve the Acropolis. Let every man maintain his post as duty to his country demands, and in a few days I trust you will find your affairs not only retrieved but secured on a permanent base."

That trust was not fulfilled. The Greeks proved themselves on sea as well as on land unable to fight worthily, and with enough real patriotism, for the liberty of their country. But honour must not on that account be withheld from the man who used all his large experience and larger philanthropy in trying to put them in the way of victory.

Lord Cochrane returned to Poros on the 10th of May, after an absence of just three weeks. He lost no time in rendering to the Government, then located in that island, a personal account of his recent proceedings, and in doing his utmost to persuade the Greeks to aid him in the new exploits on which he hoped to enter with better prospect of success. An address to the Psarians, dated the 11th

of May, will serve as a specimen of many documents of the same nature. "It was my intention yesterday," he said, "to have paid my respects to you, in order personally to have made known to you the circumstances in which the naval service is placed, and the state and preparations of the enemy, and to have called on you to show an example to the other islanders, on whose exertions now depend the liberties and fate of their country. The abandonment of the schooner, in which I have hitherto been embarked by all her seamen, prevented me from fulfilling my intention, and the certain intelligence received this morning that the Turkish fleet from Constantinople passed Syra the day before yesterday, to join the Egyptian fleet, compels me now to recommend you, by writing, instead of by word of mouth, to save your country and yourselves by prompt and energetic exertions. The money I brought here with me, being the proceeds of subscriptions made throughout Europe for your cause, has unfortunately been nearly consumed in fruitless endeavours to save the capital of Greece by means of an irregular and unmanageable body of men, who will neither receive instruction nor listen to advice. I hope that the brave seamen who understand their duty will listen to my recommendation through you that they should at once step forward to save their

families from oppression and slavery, and the name of their country from being struck out of the list of independent nations. By one glorious effort Greece may be free; but if she remain in her present state of apathy all hope must be abandoned. I call upon you now to stand forward in defence of your religion and all that is valuable to man. I send you a thousand dollars, which is all that I can spare. Those who will equip their ships may depend on repayment out of the first money that shall be remitted to me for the public service of Greece."

As that letter implies, Lord Cochrane had to begin his reconstruction of the Greek navy—now the only remaining resource of the nation in its hope of working out and assuring its independence by effort of its own—almost without funds. The small sum of 8000*l.* which he had brought with him, as well as the money collected by the European committees and transmitted to the Philhellenic Committee in Greece, composed of Colonel Heydeck, Dr. Bailli, and Dr. Gosse, was nearly exhausted, and the bankrupt Government was unable to provide him with any adequate resources for carrying on his work. It had authorized him to buy ships and stores and to employ labourers and seamen, and expected him to do all without stint, but gave him no money for the purpose. In lieu it authorized him to borrow upon

the security of all the future revenue to be derived from the islands; and every effort to utilize this mortgage was made by his agent Dr. Gosse, but with very poor success. The credit of the Greek Government was so low that the prospects of any considerable revenue in the depressed state of commerce—likely to be yet more depressed by the steady advances made by the Turks in regaining their dominion over the insurgents—deterred capitalists from staking their money thereupon. Lord Cochrane, as we shall see, had to apply half his energies in performing the work of a financier, never anticipated by him, and certainly not proper to his functions as First Admiral; and, the result of all being feeble, his legitimate duties were grievously crippled.

Money being absolutely needed, however, he did his best to procure it, and with this view, as well as in order to make personal acquaintance with the principal ports, and the ships and sailors contained in them, he left Poros, three days after returning to it, on a tour among the other important islands.

Starting on Sunday, the 13th of May, he reached Hydra on the following morning. There, in the house of the brothers Konduriottes, its richest and most influential inhabitants, he met several other

leading primates, and prevailed on them to take upon themselves the outfit of several brigs and brulottes, the cost of which he had at present no means of paying. Having, on the 15th, passed on to Spetzas, Lord Cochrane had a similar interview with its chief residents. "I have been highly gratified," he wrote on the 16th to the elder Konduriottes, "by the spirit here manifested in following the noble example which you have set, and I have no doubt but a sufficient force will be immediately equipped to cut off all the resources by which the army of Reshid Pasha is maintained, and so destroy that army even more effectually than by the sword. The utmost promptitude, however, is necessary. One day's delay may permit several weeks' provisions and stores to enter the Negropont."

Promptitude was not easy, in spite of the favourable promises of the primates. "Strange as it may appear to you," said Lord Cochrane, in a letter to his friend, M. Eynard, "it is yet a fact that, out of the thousands of seamen idle and starving at Hydra, Spetzas, and Egina, not a man will enter the service of his country without being paid in advance; nor will they engage to prolong their service beyond a month, so that the labour of disciplining a crew is interminable. Were there funds to increase the pay for each month, the sailors would remain, and there

might be some hope of getting a ship in order. At the present moment there are no individuals in Greece who are instructed in their duties as officers in ships of war." "I see no termination to the obstacles," he wrote to Dr. Gosse on the 17th, "which present themselves at every step I advance. Neither the Hydriots nor the Psarians, nor the Spetziots, nor the Poriots, will embark in this frigate, which is thus useless to Greece, if not prejudicial, because her maintenance is an expense without benefit. I wish I could do a thousand things which I am compelled to neglect, by reason of the difficulties and want of assistance of all kinds. You, my good friend, are my only aid."

At Spetzas, and in its neighbourhood, Lord Cochrane remained four days, directing the arrangements to be made in organizing a fleet strong enough to go against the enemy's shipping, and, while waiting for that, in appointing two minor expeditions upon services that were urgent. On the 18th of May, he sent Admiral Saktoures with ten brigs and four fireships to cruise about the Negropont and capture as much as he could of the stores sent through that channel from Constantinople for the use of the Turkish army in Attica. On the following day he went himself in the *Hellas*, attended by the *Karteria*, under Captain Abney Hastings, in the direction of

Cape Clarenza, the north-westernmost point of the Morea, opposite to Zante.*

Castle Tornese, there situated, was being besieged by the Turks, and Lord Cochrane hoped to be in time to avert its capture. In this he failed. Arriving on the 22nd of May, he found that the castle had capitulated a few hours before. All he could do was to chase two Turkish frigates which he found on the coast. "We fired into them," he said, "but our guns were ill-directed, and the noise and confusion on board this ship was excessive, which prevented my choosing to attack them again, though they did us not the slightest injury, because I am desirous that the *Hellas* shall be in somewhat better order before I voluntarily attack an enemy who may take advantage of the impossibility of causing my orders to be obeyed, and so leave the fate of the ship to the conduct of a rabble."

One capture, however, the *Hellas* was able to make on the following day. She fell in with a vessel, manned by Turks and Ionian Islanders, bearing the British flag, loaded with captives, chiefly women

* "The admiral," says Gordon, "weighed with the *Hellas* and *Karteria* alone, leaving the rest of his squadron to draw pay and rations at Porto Kheli" (vol. ii., p. 415). The fact was that all the rest of his squadron that was fit for service was sent to the Negropont; and Lord Cochrane left directions that the other vessels, as soon as there were men to be rationed and funds for paying them, should follow him to Clarenza. But they only came to run away.

and children, just taken in the Castle Tornese. Lord Cochrane seized her, and sent her, with a reasonably indignant letter, to the Lord High Commissioner at Corfu. "If I do not attempt to express my feelings in addressing you," he said, "it is because I am aware that the terms I should employ would fall far short of the sensations that will arise in the breast of every honourable man throughout the civilized world, and the degradation which every Englishman will experience, on learning that the flag of England, first prostituted by supplying the traffickers in Christian slaves with all the necessaries for their horrid purposes, is now further debased by a traffic in the slaves themselves. I send you an Ionian vessel, full of women violated in their persons, and who, with their children, had been reduced to slavery, in order that the British public and the world may ascertain whether these unfortunate people will be protected by the decision of an Ionian tribunal. If there were any hope that the people in the Ionian Islands would abandon their infamous dealings otherwise than by force, I should ask your excellency to issue an order upon the subject. I beg, however, to signify that I am ready to co-operate with the admiral and officers of the British naval service in the Mediterranean in enforcing obedience to the laws of justice and humanity, and putting down the

Ionian trade in slaves, as well as the piracies which have originated chiefly in the total contempt shown by the Ionian people and others for the laws of nations and the principles of justice during the contest between Greeks and Turks. I also put at your disposal the Turks found on board the Ionian boat, not considering them as prisoners of war, but as men apprehended in violating the laws of civilized nations and insulting the feelings of Christendom." "Since writing the above," it was added in a postscript, "I have experienced considerable difficulty in restraining the fury of the Greeks from bursting forth upon the violators of their countrywomen. From what I foresee, I also feel it my duty to warn you that, should the transportation of Christian captives by neutrals be continued, I cannot answer for the safety of Ionians found so employed by the other vessels of the Greek squadron."

A formal acknowledgment of that letter was all the answer received by Lord Cochrane.

On the 24th of May, when near Missolonghi, he made another capture—a Turkish brig, with eight guns, bearing Austrian colours, which was proceeding from Previsa to Navarino. In her, besides a good store of flour and gunpowder, were found some Turkish officials and several members of Reshid Pasha's harem. The alarm of these prisoners was

very great at first; but they were treated with courtesy, and landed, with all their personal properties, at the first convenient halting-place, the brig and its cargo being retained as prizes. Reshid Pasha, in return for the generous treatment shown to his attendants, afterwards released a hundred Greek prisoners without ransom.

Another curious incident occurred at this time. Several small Turkish merchant-vessels passed Lord Cochrane's ship during his stay near Missolonghi, but he abstained from capturing them; deeming it unworthy to interfere with such small crafts, devoted, as it was supposed, only to trading purposes. He was afterwards informed that in one of them Ibrahim Pasha himself had been concealed. Had the Egyptian leader been thus made prisoner, the future course of the war might have been altogether changed.

Lord Cochrane had gone into the Gulf of Patras in hope of meeting with Captain Hastings, from whom he had parted soon after leaving Spetzas; but the *Karteria* had been disabled by a squall, which took away both her masts, and so had to return to Poros; and with the ill-manned *Hellas* alone Lord Cochrane did not deem it prudent, as he had wished, to attack Navarino, whither the besiegers of the Castle Tornese had gone, and where twelve Egyptian frigates, twenty corvettes, and forty or fifty smaller vessels were for

some time lying. Several of these came out to take on board the Ottoman troops who had done their work at Cape Clarenza, and Lord Cochrane, on the 1st of June, remained for several hours within sight of them, ready and hoping to be attacked. No fight being offered, however, he did not choose to run the risk of going single-handed into their midst. He accordingly contented himself with surveying the coast, and forming his own judgment as to the relative value of its ports and harbours, as he sailed back in the direction of Poros.

To Poros itself Lord Cochrane did not venture to proceed. "I have written for all the Greek vessels that are ready, including the fireships and explosion-vessels, to join me," he said in a letter to Dr. Gosse, written on the 7th of June, off Cerigo; "I remain at sea with this frigate, lest the whole of her crew should desert, according to custom, were I to pay a visit to Poros." The want of zeal which he thus perceived in his seamen was shared by nearly all their countrymen. All wished him to serve them, but very few made any patriotic effort to aid him in the service. His most active supporter was Captain Abney Hastings; and Captain Abney Hastings complained yet more loudly than did his superior of the indolence and bad conduct of the Greeks. "I had the honour to receive your order of the 7th, enjoining

me to repair to your lordship without delay, if ready for sea," he wrote on the 9th, from Spetzas; "a variety of circumstances, unavoidable in a country deprived of even the shadow of organization, has prevented me from being yet ready to sail. The majority and best of my crew have left me, and I must look for others."

Hastings and all his other officers wrote over and over again to Lord Cochrane, asking for stores of all sorts, and for money with which to pay the wages of their crews. But Lord Cochrane was still almost without funds. Only from Konduriottes, and the other island primates, could he procure scanty supplies with which to carry on his work—or rather, to prevent that work from being altogether abandoned. "I have the honour," he wrote to the Government, "to represent to your excellencies that I find it impossible to realise the credit which you assigned to me on the revenues of the islands, and that insurmountable obstacles prevent my acting as affairs require. The *Hellas* even is idle for want of supplies. Each day, each event, increases my conviction that, without strong and special efforts, without a prompt and disinterested co-operation of all its citizens, Greece must of necessity be overcome. Isolated as I am, I am useless to them. Supported by their patriotism and zeal, I could fight for their independence. The islands

of the Archipelago are willing to aid our efforts, but they claim from me in return a guarantee for the safety of their goods and for the regular administration of their imposts. I await your excellencies' instructions for promptly answering their demand; for the resources of the western nations are drained; European charity is wearied. The islands alone offer us the means of maintaining the naval forces, and of resisting, if it be possible—if it be not too late—the vigorous preparations of our enemy. We must act promptly or abandon everything." The Government only answered by urging its chief admiral to lose no time in securing the independence of Greece.

This, in spite of the difficulties thrown in his way, he set himself heartily to attempt. Two courses were now open to him. Reshid Pasha, having taken possession of the Acropolis, and thus completed the capture of Athens, had laid siege to Corinth; and Sir Richard Church, with a weak and vacillating body which went by the name of an army—the remnants of that which had proved so useless in the neighbourhood of the Piræus—was vainly trying to raise the siege. By him and by the Government Lord Cochrane was urged to muster as large a fleet as possible in the Bay of Corinth, and to co-operate with the land forces by blockading the besiegers, after the method that had failed at Athens. Expe-

rience convinced him that such action would be useless; whereas from modification of the plan which he had in the former instance been induced to abandon he hoped much. He knew that a large Egyptian force was being prepared at Alexandria, to be employed first in aiding the siege of Corinth, and afterwards in completing the conquest of all Greece. If only he could train the Greeks to act under his bold leadership, as he had trained the Chilians and Brazilians, he trusted that, by one daring movement, he could seize Alexandria as he had seized Valdivia and Maranham. And to this project he zealously addressed himself, deeming it sufficient to send a small force to blockade the gulfs of Patras and Corinth, and leaving Dr. Gosse as his agent in command of naval affairs at home, with special orders to visit the various islands, and, in accordance with authority received from the Government, to collect the revenues of each, in order that the necessary expenses of the fleet might be met.

He collected all the vessels he could muster in the neighbourhood of Cape Saint Angelo. His force consisted, besides the *Hellas*, of one corvette, the *Sauveur*, which he had brought from Marseilles, commanded by Captain Thomas, of fourteen Greek brigs and of eight brulôts or fireships. With these he started for Alexandria on the 11th of June, the

Hellas having often to slacken speed in order that the slower Greek vessels might be kept in attendance. Candia was passed on the 13th, and Alexandria was sighted at five o'clock in the morning of the 15th. Lord Cochrane stood out to sea so that he might not be discovered, and spent the day in putting his fleet in order, preparing an explosion-vessel, and arranging for the work of the morrow. "Brave officers and seamen," he said, in an address to his followers, "one decisive blow, and Greece is free. The port of Alexandria, the centre of all the evil that has befallen you, now contains within its narrow bounds numerous ships of war and a multitude of vessels laden with provisions, stores, and troops, intended to effect your total ruin. The wind is fair for us, and our enterprise unsuspected. Brave buccaneers, resolve by one moment of active exertion to annihilate the power of the satrap. Then shall the siege of Athens be raised in Egypt; then shall the armies of Ibrahim and Reshid be deprived of subsistence, and their garrisons perish of hunger, whilst the brave inhabitants of continental Greece and the islanders, freed from impending danger, will fly to arms, and, by one simultaneous movement, throw off the barbarian yoke. Date the return of happy days and the liberty and security of Greece from your present exhibition of valour. The emancipation of

Egypt and the downfall of the satrap are also inevitable consequences; for the war is concentrated in one point of action and of time."

That spirited address was ineffectual, and Lord Cochrane's bold plan for seizing Alexandria was prevented by the cowardice and disorganization of the Greeks whom he was labouring to serve. They could hardly be persuaded on the 16th to follow the *Hellas* and the *Sauveur*, all bearing Austrian colours, as far as the entrance to Alexandria, and when twenty large Egyptian vessels were found to be there lying at harbour, they lost heart altogether. Lord Cochrane knew from past experience that, with proper support from his subordinates, he could easily capture or disperse the enemy's shipping. He had made arrangements for attacking them with the fireships and his explosion-vessel. But nearly all the crews refused to serve. Kanaris alone among the Greeks was brave. Having command of the fireships, he induced the sailors of two of them to bear down upon the enemy, and at about eight o'clock in the evening one man-of-war was burnt. So great was the effect of this small success that the other ships of the enemy prepared to escape, and great numbers of the inhabitants of Alexandria hurried out of the town and sought a hiding in the adjoining villages. Seeing the Egyptian ships making ready

for flight, however, the Greeks supposed that they were coming out to attack them, and themselves immediately turned sail, heedless alike of their own honour and of Lord Cochrane's assurances that a splendid victory was easy to them. All the night was vainly spent by the *Hellas* and the *Sauveur* in futile efforts to collect them, and on the morning of the 18th they were found to be dispersed far out at sea over an area of more than twenty miles.

In despite of his feeble allies, Lord Cochrane would have gone boldly into port and attacked the enemy. But his own Greek sailors were as timid as their comrades; and after a whole day spent in reconnoitring the enemy, whose force of twenty-five sail dared not offer battle, but had gained courage enough to abstain from actual flight, he was compelled, on the 19th, also to put out to sea and to spend two other days in signalling the brigs and fireships to join him. Not till the afternoon of the 20th, by which time he had pursued his allies to a distance eighty miles from Alexandria, was he able to bring them into any sort of order, and then the bitter conviction was forced upon him that further prosecution of his plan, for the present at any rate, was useless.

The scanty store of provisions that had been sent with the fleet, moreover, was nearly exhausted, and thus a new difficulty arose. Lord Cochrane sent the most

useless of his vessels back to Poros for a fresh supply, and with an earnest entreaty that some efficient reinforcements might also be forwarded to him, announcing his intention of waiting in the neighbourhood in hopes of achieving some better success. "Your excellencies may rest assured," he said in his letter to the Government, "that our visit to Alexandria will have a powerful effect in paralysing the equipment of an expedition, and I have every reason to conclude that the example made before their eyes of the brig-of-war will deter any of the numerous neutral vessels from engaging as transports in the expedition equipping by the Pasha. The sensation created must indeed have been powerful as two neutral vessels of war made the signal for pilots before we weighed anchor on the morning of the 17th, under the impression, no doubt, that a more effectual attack would shortly be attempted. I am going to make a short tour, with a view, as far as I am enabled with the inadequate means at my disposal, to distract and paralyse the enemy."

In accordance with that purpose, being already near Cyprus, Lord Cochrane conducted his fleet a little further north, and anchored, on the 23rd of June, off Phineka, in Asia Minor, where, after a brief fight with the Turks, he effected a landing, and received some much-needed food and water. Thence

he addressed letters, urging the prompt despatch of the necessary stores and vessels, to the Government, to the primates of Hydra, and to Dr. Gosse.

From this halting-place, also, he sent a noteworthy letter to Mahomet Ali, the Pasha of Egypt, a supplement to one which he had addressed to him nearly a year before, when he was on his way to enter the service of the Greeks.

"Your employing foreigners in your military and naval service," he had said in the former letter, which will be best quoted in this place, "the privilege which you claim and exercise of building and equipping ships-of-war in neutral states, and of purchasing steam-vessels and hiring transports under neutral flags, for hostile purposes, and to transport to slavery a people whom the Ottoman arms have never yet been able wholly to subdue, warrant a belief, whatever your sentiments may be, that the civilized, educated, and liberal portion of mankind will be gratified that succours similar to those which you, unfortunately, have hitherto obtained from these states are now about to be afforded to the brave, the oppressed, and suffering Greeks! Nor will the advantage derived be wholly theirs; for, until you shall cease or be forced to abandon your inhuman traffic in Christian slaves and the commission of cruelties which stain the character of man, your sub-

jects must inevitably continue barbarians,—a state, from which it would be a source of great gratification to contribute to release them. It is true that the Christian world has not of late contended in arms with those of your faith on points of religion. It has, however, not fallen into a state of apathy so great as to see unheeded the perpetration of those enormities which you are daily committing on Christians,—a sentiment with which no feeling of animosity towards you or towards your people is combined. On the contrary, it desires to render you every good service consistent with that duty paramount to all others, namely, to wipe out the stain from the civilized world of unfeelingly and inhumanly co-operating to exterminate, enslave, and transport to bondage a whole Christian people—and such a people—the descendants of those Greeks whose genius laid the chief foundation of literature, the sciences, and the arts; who reared those noble monuments and edifices which time and the more destructive barbarian hand have yet failed to destroy, and which, compared with the wretched hovels of your hordes, may better point out to you the elevation they attained, and the prostrate state in which your people are—owing, alas! to the baneful effects of bigotry and despotic sway. Surely, surely there is ample field for the exercise of your energies at home, in encouraging industry, the

arts and sciences, in promoting the civilization of your people, and in enacting equitable laws for the security of persons and property—on which bases the national prosperity of all countries must rest. But should your ambition, not content with bestowing blessings like these on your native land, lead you to soar almost above mortal acts, distant oceans would unite, and the extremities of the globe approach at your command.* Thus might your name be rendered immortal, and Egypt become again the emporium of commerce, and one of the richest and happiest nations upon earth. How infinitely great the glory from such acts! How despicable the fame of a tyrant conqueror, the ruler of slaves! It would be pleasing to support you as the author of great and good works, but it is shameful to permit your present proceedings, and dastardly to leave the unfeeling apostate sons of neutral and Christian nations unopposed, aiding to perpetuate barbarism for horrid gain, drawn from the price of Christians torn from their homes and sold as slaves in foreign lands. Against these atrocious men, my companions and myself, casting the gauntlet down, will contend, in the hope that they and you may perceive your true interests and your great error, and pursue a different course before it

* It is singular that at this early date Lord Cochrane should thus have advised and prognosticated the construction of the Suez Canal.

shall be too late. Quit the classic sacred soil of Greece, let the flayings, and burnings, and impalings of that people cease, and oh! shocking to humanity, the ripping up of pregnant women, and the hewing up of their infant babes, and other acts yet worse than these—too horrid to relate. Release the Christian slaves; pursue an honourable and enlightened path, and we become friends to aid you in your pursuits—but should the present course be continued, let the bands of cruel assassins in your employ count on our opposition; count, too, on our neutralizing the effects of every vessel procured or bought from Christian states. 'Hear the voice of the Lord, ye rulers,' in the prophecy now to be fulfilled. 'Woe to them that go down to Egypt for help and stay.' 'When the Lord shall stretch out his hand, both he that helpeth shall fall, and he that is holpen shall fall down, and they shall all fall together.' Instead of filling brim full the cup of bitterness, of which you yourself must ultimately drink, how admirably might you not employ your people, and your treasure—the waste whereof is rearing to you a barbarian successor to prolong the bondage of Egypt. The Christian prayer of those called to rescue their suffering brethren is that, conforming yourself to the dictates of reason and humanity, you may live long to benefit mankind; and as you are more enlightened than your

predecessors, so may you become more humane and just."

The second letter was more brief. "The discrimination of your Highness," Lord Cochrane now wrote, "enables you to judge between those who offer advice to promote personal objects and those who disinterestedly desire the welfare of mankind. Egypt may become great by the attention of her rulers to her internal concerns, but not by war and foreign conquest, and assuredly not by the conquest of that people with whom your Highness is now engaged in hostilities, not only on account of the impossibility of reducing them to subjection but because the whole of Europe is directly or indirectly engaged in their support. I beg your Highness to be assured that, if I present myself to your consideration in a more conspicuous point of view than others, it is only because the habits of my life have enabled me to be openly instrumental in the protection of a Christian people whom you attack, and not because I feel animosity against your Highness, nor because I desire the overthrow of the lawful power of your Highness. Should your Highness, however, listen to interested counsellors, or to those who hope to gain by adulation, and continue the present unjust and sanguinary contest, I take leave once more to warn you that the first visit I have had the honour of paying you shall not be the

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last, and that it is not in the power of your Highness to prevent the destruction of your ships destined for the invasion of Greece, nor to defeat my intention to block up the port of Alexandria. I had the honour to address your Highness twelve months ago; but I have thought proper to repeat once more the honest advice I then expressed, in order that your Highness may acquit me when, in the hour of adversity, you have to regret that you have not listened to the voice of truth."

Lord Cochrane's threats could not be enforced. Off the coast of Asia Minor and among the southern islands of the Archipelago he waited for more than a week. But no adequate reinforcements or supplies of provisions arrived. The disorganised fleet became more and more unmanageable. One vessel after another deserted, and those that remained in nominal attendance on the flag-ship could not be brought under control. Lord Cochrane, who had made skilful sailors and brave warriors of enervated Chilians and Brazilians, found the Greeks utterly unmanageable. Up to the 2nd of July he tried vainly to bring them into order, and only succeeded in pursuing them from island to island until, on that day, they had drawn him back to the neighbourhood of Hydra. There hey all dispersed, and with a heavy heart he anchored at Poros on the 4th. The *Hellas* was

immediately deserted by her crew. Another month had been wasted and another bold project for the assistance of Greece had been spoiled by the want of patriotism which, exhibited first and most flagrantly by the leaders, was now rapidly pervading all classes of the Greeks.

An amusing instance of the worthlessness of the Greek sailors, whom, from first to last, he tried to make useful, may here be given. On one occasion, following his invariable habit of taking every possible occasion of trying to win the confidence and friendship of those under him, he was exhibiting a magic lantern to the crew of the *Hellas*. At many of the dissolving views they manifested a childish delight, but at length one unfortunate picture was brought before them. It depicted a Greek running from the pursuit of a Turk, and then melted into a view of the Turk cutting off his captive's head. At that sight every Greek on board took fright. Some ran into the hold of the ship, others jumped overboard, and many hours had to be spent in bringing them together again and dispelling their frivolous and superstitious fears.

Lord Cochrane, however, though disheartened, still sought, with unabated zeal, to render to Greece such help as became his name and character. But he saw that this could not be done without a thorough

reform in naval affairs; and this, often urged by him before, he lost no time in urging again. "The crew of the *Hellas*," he wrote to the effete Government on the very day of his return, "having, according to their usual practice, abandoned the vessel on her arrival in port, it is essential that others should be enlisted to serve in the frigate without delay. It is further essential that the individuals so enlisted shall engage to serve during a period of not less than six months, and that they shall be young men who will conform to the rules and regulations by which the ships-of-war of other states are governed. It is quite impossible to conduct a large ship-of-war amidst the noise and confusion which I have witnessed during the two months that have elapsed since my flag was hoisted on board this ship, and equally impossible to induce monthly crews to conform to habits of order and regularity. Under these circumstances, I enclose you a proclamation, stating the pay and advantages which will accrue to such individuals. I should prefer that the enlistment should take place under such respectable young men as propose to obtain rank in the national marine, and who can be in some degree responsible for the good conduct of the individuals who accompany them, each individual qualified for, and aspiring to, the rank of lieutenant being accompanied by sixty young seamen, the second lieutenants

to be each accompanied by thirty. For this ship five of the first class and eight of the second are required." The proclamation which Lord Cochrane submitted to the Government detailed his plan for ensuring, or at any rate making possible, honest and hearty service in seafaring.

"I wish I could inform your excellencies," he said in another letter written two days later, "that the obstacles, however great, which presented themselves in the course of the naval service were all I had to contend with. The jealousies among the islanders, even the most enlightened, embarrassed me exceedingly; and these, I regret to say, cannot be alleviated by having recourse to your advice or authority, at the distance at which you are placed, without a correspondence so voluminous that I should occupy too much of your attention. I must, therefore, act according to my own responsibility; and in so doing I am aware that some may be displeased, and probably no one will be satisfied."

Nearly all the month of July, indeed, was spent by Lord Cochrane in zealous efforts to render the Greek navy more efficient. For this two things were needed—that the officers and crews should be honest and intelligent, and that there should be money enough in hand for paying their wages, for fitting out proper vessels, and for supplying the requisite

stores and provisions. For the first object proclamations were issued, letters were written, and agents were sent into various parts of Greece and her islands. For the second, Lord Cochrane went personally to the assistance of Dr. Gosse, who, as Commissary-General of the Fleet, had been attempting to collect the revenues of the islands which, by order of the Government, had been assigned to naval uses. He succeeded to some extent in this, and also in quickening the latent patriotism of the people whom he visited.

His most important visit was to Syra, where, as will be seen from the letter which he addressed to the Government on the 13th of July, he was obliged to resort to strong measures for securing the good end he had in view. "I have the honour to inform your excellencies," he wrote, "that, a new crew having been procured for the *Hellas* with less delay than I anticipated, by reason of the pay having been increased one-third in amount, I proceeded to Syra, taking with me several of the principal inhabitants of the three maritime islands, who expressed to me, by letter, their anxiety to have an opportunity of promoting a loan on the credit of the revenues of the islands, which your excellencies had authorised me, jointly with others, to collect. I have now the pleasure to inform you that when I left Syra yesterday

everything seemed to promise a favourable result; but in order to attain this important object it became necessary that I should take upon myself the responsibility of intimating to the prefect of police, who had assumed despotic authority, that it was essential to the public good that the magistrates should resume the functions that they exercised previous to his arrival. I am convinced that your excellencies will perceive as clearly as I do, that it will be impossible to preserve harmony amongst the islanders, if strangers are sent to exercise over the natives an authority that is not acceptable to them. Indeed, the character of these natives demands at all times prudence and circumspection on the part of the Government."

Unfortunately, the miserable triumvirate to which the direction of Greek affairs had been assigned until the arrival of Count Capodistrias was wholly wanting in prudence and circumspection. After vainly trying to maintain a show of authority, and to use it to their own aggrandisement at Damala and at Poros, they had, on the 4th of July, removed to Nauplia. There, however, they only found themselves more embarrassed than ever. While the last hopes of Greek independence, to be secured and maintained by Greeks themselves, were rapidly dying out, the leaders were amusing themselves and gratifying their petty jealousies and ambitions by

conduct more despicable than ever. Nauplia was the seat of civil war between two military factions, whose joint contempt of the worthless Government would have been, at any rate, excusable, had not the interests of the whole nation been thereby injured. The triumvirate was driven from the town, and taking refuge in a little island in the Bay of Nauplia, wrote in despair to Lord Cochrane, asking him to come to its aid and devise some means of preserving, or rather of constructing, its authority.

To Nauplia he accordingly went on the 19th of July. "I am now at the anchorage of this place," he wrote thence to Dr. Gosse on the 22nd. "The town is evacuated by the inhabitants, and abandoned by the Government. The latter are in the little island in the bay in the most deplorable condition, trembling like Sancho when invaded in his dominions of Barataria, and not knowing which way to turn, whether to avoid or meet the enemy. No words can depict the state of things. I have had correspondence with the Government and all the chiefs, but have waited on none, because I am determined to keep myself clear of faction, and go straightforward in what I consider to be my duty." "We are now weighing anchor," he added, in a postscript written in the evening of the same day, "and the Austrian commodore is coming into the bay—an

evil omen. He is watching, like a vulture, the agonies of the expiring authorities of Greece."

"As you have done me the honour," said Lord Cochrane, in a letter to the Government, "to request my opinion regarding the manner of settling the disputes between the contending chiefs who hold the higher and lower fortresses of Nauplia, it becomes a sacred duty to give that opinion without the slightest reserve, because the consequences of any half measure will be entirely destructive of the influence of your excellencies throughout Greece, and eventually may frustrate the endeavours of the European powers to promote a settlement with the Porte. Your excellencies, then, must at once remove from the situation in which you are now placed, or, more properly speaking, to which you have fled, and where you are still under the cannon of the disputing chiefs, or both these chiefs must be caused to abandon the fortresses they hold. To suffer one to remain and to expel the other would be voluntarily to surrender your authority, and through Greece and throughout the world you would be considered in no other light than as instruments for giving the semblance of legality to the dictates of a military chief."

Lord Cochrane did not wait to see the end of this dispute between the mock-Government and its nominal subjects. He left Nauplia on the 22nd of

July to complete the arrangements he had made for another attempt in defence of Greece. He had already sent Admiral Saktoures and a small force to maintain a show of blockading Alexandria, in order that thereby neutral vessels, at any rate, might be deterred from giving aid to the Turkish cause. He had sent vessels to blockade the Gulf of Patras in the same way. He had also issued a vigorous proclamation to the inhabitants of Western Greece, urging them to rise against their oppressors, and he was eager to go thither himself and encourage the work, for which he hoped that his fleet and his naval arrangements were now better fitted. One important auxiliary to this work he hoped to have in a corps of marines, to the number of a thousand, which Colonel Gordon Urquhart was now trying, under his directions, to organise. "I have several things in view which even this small force could accomplish," he wrote to Dr. Gosse, "and amongst the rest will be the rooting out of the pirates from the islands."

More important, however, than the restraint of piracy, was the resistance, if possible, of the Turkish forces. Several of the Egyptian ships which Lord Cochrane had hoped to destroy in the harbour of Alexandria had now come out and joined the Ottoman fleet, which had Navarino for its head-quarters. He determined, without loss of time, to go and see

what injury could be done to them; and accordingly, after a brief visit to Poros, where he took on board some stores and provisions, and where he left Dr Gosse to use the scanty supply of money which he had collected in completing the equipment of the other vessels, he started in the *Hellas*, on the 28th of July, for the western side of the Morea.

On the 29th, when near Cape St. Angelo, he fell in with the *Sauveur*, returning from a cruise in the Gulf of Patras, and the two vessels proceeded with all haste to Navarino. They reached that port, and had sight of the Turkish fleet on the evening of the 30th. With French colours flying, Lord Cochrane reconnoitred its position, and then watched for an opportunity of attacking some part of it.

The opportunity occurred on the 1st of August. A corvette, carrying twenty-eight fine guns, and a crew of three hundred and forty, with two brigs and two schooners, had passed out on the previous day, apparently with the intention of conveying reinforcements to the Gulf of Patras. Lord Cochrane immediately gave them chase, and drove them backwards and forwards between Zante and the shore north of Navarino all through the night and till nearly noon on the 1st. Then suddenly tacking, he closed upon the corvette, and there was hard fighting—the first in which he had been able to persuade his Greeks to

join—between the two vessels, for fifty minutes. At about one o'clock, after fifty of their number had been killed and thirty wounded, the Turks surrendered.* Lord Cochrane found on board twenty Greek women and several children, who had been subjected to the vilest treatment. In the meanwhile, Captain Thomas, of the *Sauveur*, had engaged with one of the brigs, carrying twelve guns, and captured her with a loss of fifteen killed and wounded to the Turks, but none to the Greeks. The other vessels escaped, but an Ionian vessel, laden with provisions for the Ottoman army at Patras, was seized in the afternoon, and her cargo put to good use.

Lord Cochrane waited off Navarino for two days, hoping that some of the enemy's fleet would come out to attack him. They, however, locked themselves carefully in the harbour until he had set sail for the south, when they feebly attempted to pursue

* "The admiral," says Gordon (vol. ii., pp. 421, 422), "was less gratified at his victory than mortified that so inferior a vessel should have fought the *Hellas* for three-quarters of an hour, and disgusted at the backwardness of his crew. In his first cruise he carried with him four hundred men recruited in the Cyclades; but as they ran below in his engagement with the two Egyptian corvettes, he discharged them and took Hydriots alone. These last, though better mariners, and really more courageous, were disconcerted by his system of reserving fire till within pistol-shot—so different from their own plan of cannonading at a mile's distance. 'The boys,' said Cochrane, 'behaved pretty well; but the oldest, and ugliest, and fiercest-looking bravoes of Hydra ran to the other side of the deck, roaring like market-bulls.' His lordship took summary satisfaction by knocking them down with his fists, right and left."

him. He thereupon, after releasing the Turkish prisoners at Candia, returned to Poros, there to leave his prizes and endeavour to take back a larger force with which worthily to supplement his recent successes.

CHAPTER XX.

THE ACTION OF GREAT BRITAIN AND RUSSIA ON BEHALF OF HELLENIC INDEPENDENCE. — THE DEGRADATION OF GREECE. — LORD COCHRANE'S RENEWED EFFORTS TO ORGANISE A FLEET.—PRINCE PAUL BUONAPARTE, AND HIS DEATH.—AN ATTEMPT TO ASSASSINATE LORD COCHRANE.—HIS INTENDED EXPEDITION TO WESTERN GREECE.—ITS PREVENTION BY SIR EDWARD CODRINGTON.—LORD COCHRANE'S RETURN TO THE ARCHIPELAGO. —THE INTERFERENCE OF GREAT BRITAIN, FRANCE, AND RUSSIA.—THE CAUSES OF THE BATTLE OF NAVARINO.—THE BATTLE.

[1827.]

THE Duke of Wellington's mission to St. Petersburg in the spring of 1826, which has been already referred to, was part of a policy by which the British Government materially contributed to the ultimate independence of Greece. Its first result was the protocol of the 4th of April, in which England and Russia recognized the right of the Greeks to claim from the Porte a recognition of their freedom. At about the same time our Government had sent Mr. Stratford Canning, afterwards Lord Stratford de Redclyffe, as ambassador to Constantinople, with special instructions to use every endeavour to bring

about a cessation of the war which should be favourable to Greece; and on the 24th of April the National Assembly at Epidaurus had authorized him to treat with Turkey on its behalf, agreeing, if no more favourable terms could be obtained, to a recognition of the Sultan's supremacy and the payment of tribute to him, on condition that Greece should be independent in all its internal government. Those terms, however, were rejected by the Porte; and after a delay of a year and a half it was forced by the Great Powers, slowly awakening from their long lethargy, to accede to arrangements far more favourable to Greece.

These negotiations, however, proceeded very slowly, and before the dawn of Greek independence there was a time of almost utter darkness, the darkest time of all being the few months following Lord Cochrane's arrival. "Vanquished Greece," says her historian, "lay writhing in convulsive throes. In herself there was neither hope nor help, and the question to be solved was merely whether the Mahometans would have time to subdue her before the mediating powers made up their minds to use force. That the former, if not checked from abroad, must speedily overrun the country did not admit of the least doubt. But it was equally certain that they could not pacify it; for, while the rich and timid

prepared to emigrate, the poorer and hardier portion of the insurgents formed themselves into bands of robbers and pirates, which would have long infested the mountains and the Levant seas, deriding the efforts of the Porte to suppress them. The only branch of the Hellenic confederacy that still presented a menacing aspect was the navy under Lord Cochrane. Every other department was a heap of confusion. No government existed, since it would be idle to dignify with that name the three puppets set up by the Congress of Damala. None ever thought of obeying them, and they sealed their own degradation by carrying on an infamous traffic in selling letters of marque to freebooters. There was no army, because there was no revenue. After the fall of Athens, Roumelia was entirely lost, and the captains either renewed their act of submission to Reshid Pasha or fled to the Morea. It was not, however, with an intention of defending the peninsula that they retreated into it. Their purpose was to seize the fortresses, and thereby be enabled to make a good bargain with the Turks, or any other party that should remain in final possession. Nauplia and the Acrocorinthus were already garrisoned by Roumeliotes. Monemvasia, the third Peloponnesian stronghold yet held by the Greeks, was in the hands of Petro-Bey's brother, John Mavromikales, who, fit-

ting out from thence predatory craft, converted it into a den of thieves." *

It is not strange that, amid all this confusion, cowardice, and treachery, Lord Cochrane should have found it almost impossible to achieve anything worthy of his abilities or of the cause which he desired so earnestly to serve. Yet he continued, in spite of all obstacles, to do all that lay in his power, in fulfilment of his duty, and even in excess of that duty. He had engaged to act as First Admiral of the Greek Fleet. Finding that there was no fleet for him to direct, he laboured with unwearied zeal not only to construct one and to turn his unmannerly subordinates into disciplined sailors and brave warriors, but also to persuade the landsmen to co-operate with him in trying to withstand, if not to drive back, the advancing force of the enemy. One day when he was at Poros, Dr. Gosse came on board the *Hellas* to visit him. "See, my friend," said Lord Cochrane, taking a loaded pistol from the inner pocket of his waistcoat, "see what it is to be a Greek admiral." He found it necessary to be always provided with a weapon with which he could defend himself from his indolent, unpatriotic seamen.

Having returned to Poros with his prizes on the 14th of August, he was obliged to wait there

* Gordon, vol. ii., pp. 403, 404.

for twelve days. There were no funds to be had for the requisite repairs and other expenses in paying and feeding his crews. All he could do was to repeat his former arguments and entreaties for assistance from the miserable Government at Nauplia, and the more active, but still half-hearted primates of the islands. He also made all the other arrangements in his power for improving his fleet and for carrying on some sort of naval warfare among the southern isles, especially on the coast of Candia, and for fomenting an insurrection of the inhabitants of Western Greece, who, held in awe by the Turks ever since the fall of Missolonghi, had hitherto done little in aid of the national strife, but to whose support he now looked with some hope.

On the 24th he obtained a little further assistance. Mr. George Cochrane, whom he had sent to Marseilles in the *Unicorn*, to ask for fresh supplies of money and stores from the Philhellenes of Western Europe, but whose return had been long delayed, now arrived with a cargo of provisions, and with a sum of 5000*l*., which, though altogether inadequate to the work to be done, made possible some work at any rate.

In the *Unicorn* also came a new volunteer on behalf of Greek independence. The schooner having called at Zante on her way back, Mr. Cochrane there met Prince Paul Buonaparte, nephew of the great Napo-

leon, who asked to be taken on board in order that he might serve under Lord Cochrane. This was agreed to, and the Prince, a youth about eighteen years old, and six feet high, became, immediately after his arrival at Poros, a favourite with Lord Cochrane and all his staff and crew. He was remarkable, said Dr. Gosse, for "his good-will, his amiability of character, his solidity of judgment, his intelligence, and the moderation of his principles."

His stay in Greece, however, was very brief. On the morning of the 6th of September, all on board the *Hellas* were startled by a shriek and the exclamation, "Ah, mon Dieu! je suis mort!" Lord Cochrane and several officers rushed to the Prince's cabin, there to find him lying in a pool of blood, and writhing in agony. His servant had been cleaning his pistols, and he had just loaded one of them to hang it on a nail, when, the trigger being accidentally struck, the weapon discharged and a ball entered his body and settled in the groin. Dr. Howe, an American surgeon, famous for his services to Greece and for later philanthropic labours, being at hand, came to his relief until Dr. Gosse could be sent for. All that could be done, however, was to lessen the pain, which he bore with great heroism through two-and-twenty hours. Lord Cochrane had him placed in his own cabin, and carefully tended him

with his own hands. At seven o'clock in the following morning he cried out, "Ah, quel douleur!" and died immediately.

That melancholy accident had a sequel which must be told in illustration of the greed of the Greeks. The Prince's body was placed in a hogshead of spirits and conveyed to Spetzas, there to be deposited in a convent until the wishes of the father, Prince Lucien Buonaparte, could be ascertained as to its interment. A few months afterwards, some natives entering the convent and smelling the spirits, but apparently in ignorance of the use to which they had been applied, could not resist the temptation of tapping the hogshead and drinking a part of its contents.

Prince Paul Buonaparte died while Lord Cochrane was again making a tour of the islands, vainly trying to induce the inhabitants to provide him with adequate means for a formidable attack on the enemy. "In the port of Spetzas," wrote one of his officers, on the 29th of August, "there are now nearly forty vessels—none of them ready, not a man on board. All the men are out in cruisers, notwithstanding his excellency's order to fit out their vessels to meet the enemy's fleet. But such are the Greeks; they have no foresight, and until they see the enemy they will make no preparations, nor will they, unless the money is in their hands, expend a dollar to prepare a single

fireship to defend their country. It is now twenty-eight days since Lord Cochrane ordered the vessels from Hydra, Spetzas, and Egina to be prepared, and they are not yet ready."

At length, on the 5th of September, Lord Cochrane was able, though still with difficulty, to resign the irksome and extra-official duties of a tax-gatherer that had been forced upon him. "Since my return from Zante, and, indeed, since my return from Alexandria," he wrote on that day to the Government, now lodged at Egina, "I have been using my utmost endeavours to procure the equipment of a dozen brigs and as many fireships. The delays occasioned, however, by the want of pecuniary means have hitherto prevented the realization of my wishes, and the services of this frigate have been lost to the State during the fore-mentioned period, owing to the impossibility of procuring the necessary funds without my personal presence at Syra and elsewhere. The equipment of the brigs and part of the fireships is now completed, in spite of all difficulties, and I shall not delay one moment the endeavour to effect something useful to the interests of the State. I think it proper, however, to intimate to your excellencies that, everything being paid relative to the expense of the present expedition, I know of no means whereby a single vessel can be maintained during the ensuing month."

On the 7th of September, Lord Cochrane was able to start on another warlike cruise. His force comprised the *Hellas*, the *Karteria*, the *Sauveur*, and nineteen or twenty other vessels. The Spetziots and the Hydriots, at the last moment, refused to aid him; but he was attended by Miaoulis, Kanaris, and Saktoures, the three best of the native admirals. After a brief visit to Candia, where he encouraged the garrison of Grabusa to hold out against the enemy, he again passed round the Morea, in which direction he desired to attain two important objects. The first was to injure as much as possible the Turkish and Egyptian vessels collected near Navarino. The second was to co-operate with the wretched force that, under General Church, had for three months past been making a show of resistance to the enemy at Corinth, and with its help to try and stir up the natives of Albania and Western Greece.

These objects, partly prevented in other ways, were nearly averted by a barbarous plot for Lord Cochrane's assassination. While halting off the southern coast of the Morea, on or near the 10th of September, a short, thick-built Greek, with an ugly countenance and determined eye, came on board the *Hellas* and asked for employment as a sailor. He was examined and rejected, on the ground of previous misconduct. Instead of going on shore again, however, he con-

trived to hide himself among the crew, and was not detected by Lord Cochrane for several hours, and when the frigate was in full sail. In the interval Lord Cochrane had received authentic information that this man had been commissioned by Ibrahim Pasha to attempt his life. There would have been justification for his immediate arrest, and, after a court martial, for his summary execution. But Lord Cochrane pursued a more generous policy. Walking up to his secretary, Mr. George Cochrane, he said: "Observe that man who is at the gangway on the larboard side. I have just had information that he has been sent by Ibrahim Pasha to assassinate me. Go quietly below, put on your sword, and watch him while he is on board." Mr. Cochrane obeyed his instructions. "In less than five minutes," he says, "I was again on deck with my sword. I took a few turns on the quarter-deck with his lordship, and then placed myself in a convenient position, about a dozen yards from the man. I did not lose sight of him for a couple of hours, keeping my eye steadily upon him. He soon observed that I was watching him, and I could perceive that he did not feel very comfortable in his mind. He did not attempt to come aft. Had he done so, I should have drawn my sword. After the men had had their dinner, one or two boats were got ready to convey seamen on board

another vessel; and this fellow, seeing that his intentions were discovered, took advantage of the opportunity and got into one of the boats. I looked over the side of the *Hellas*, and saw him depart." Thus Lord Cochrane's life was saved.

Navarino was passed on the 11th of September. Lord Cochrane made no halt, as he saw that a British squadron, under Sir Edward Codrington, was there watching the Ottoman fleet and forbidding its egress. He accordingly at once proceeded northwards, and entered the Gulf of Patras on the 17th of September. On that day, in anticipation of the visit which he proposed to pay them, he forwarded proclamations to the inhabitants of the western coast. "People of Albania!" he wrote in one of them, "although you have so long suffered under the Mussulman yoke; although your love of liberty has been so long kept down by a dark and cruel despotism, the hour of your deliverance is not distant, and if you will you can hasten it. Europe takes a lively interest in your destiny; your fellow-countrymen are hastening to aid you. But all depends on the energy which you yourselves display: the support which we offer you, to be efficacious, requires on your part redoubled zeal and patriotism in the actual and decisive moment. Brave Albanians! your happy future, the security of your families, and the honour

of your religion, are in your hands; your bold and steady co-operation will ensure your own salvation and our success!"

The intended expedition was prevented. It had been arranged that Lord Cochrane should wait near Cape Papas for the arrival of General Church's army and convey it to Western Greece, in the hope of putting it to better service in that region. But the land force was long in coming, and before its arrival Lord Cochrane had to write to the Government, explaining his recent movement and the reasons which compelled him to abandon the project of fighting in Albania. "Having proceeded to the Gulf of Patras," he said, "in order to co-operate with General Church in his intended expedition to Western Greece, I thought it would be conducive to the public service to invest the fort of Vasiladi, until, by the arrival of the forces of the general, more important operations could be undertaken; and accordingly that island was immediately blockaded by the boats of the squadron, and now continues surrounded by the vessels belonging to the Missolonghites, who have undertaken to maintain the blockade until it shall surrender. The *Karteria*, the *Sauveur*, and two of the gunboats, were immediately detached with orders to take or destroy all the enemy's vessels within the Gulf of Lepanto, whilst the *Hellas* went

to the anchorage of Kalamos, in order to ascertain from the officers in arms what prospect there was of general co-operation; and I regret to say that the want of union among the chiefs and the prospect of some kind of accommodation with the enemy seemed to paralyse all their energies. I therefore detached all the squadron under Admiral Miaoulis to Syra and Naxos, to aid the Candiots and Chiots, should they continue inclined to assert their independence. I have to add that I received an indirect communication from the British Admiral, intimating his desire that no new or further operations should be undertaken in that quarter; for which reason I am about to proceed elsewhere, under the impression that nothing should be left undone to stir up the population of Greece to a sense of their duty to themselves and to their country."

The communication referred to was conveyed by Lord Ingestre, commander of the *Philomel*, who hailed the *Hellas* on the 27th of September, to deliver a message from Sir Edward Codrington. "Whereas I am informed by Sir Frederick Adam," wrote the English Admiral, "that Lord Cochrane, with the Greek fleet, is about to embark the army of General Church in the neighbourhood of Cape Papas, for the purpose of conveying them to the coast of Albania, you are hereby directed to make known to the com-

mander of that expedition that I consider it my duty, in the present state of affairs, to prevent such a measure being carried into execution, and that I shall shortly present myself in that neighbourhood for that purpose." Lord Cochrane knew that, if it would be personally very distasteful to him to be in collision with the naval force of his own country, it would, on public grounds and in the interests of Greek independence, be wholly inexcusable for him to act in violation of Sir Edward Codrington's message. Therefore he complied with it and went back to the Archipelago, there to do other work, while England was serving Greece in her own way.

The service was to be rendered at last. After spending a year in diplomatic formalities, Great Britain and Russia had, in the spring of 1827, openly renewed their arguments with the Porte in favour of Greek independence. These arguments having been rejected, the two Christian powers were in consultation as to the next course to be pursued, when France, partly urged thereto by her schemes for the acquisition of Algiers, then a Turkish dependency, offered to take part in the defence of Greece. The result was a treaty signed in London, on behalf of the three states, on the 6th of July, having for its object the enforcement of the St. Petersburg protocol of the 4th of April, 1826. It insisted that

Greece should have internal freedom, though under vassalage to Turkey; and provided that, if the contending parties did not agree to an armistice within a month, there should be a forcible intervention.

The Greeks welcomed the proposals made to them in consequence of this treaty; but they were rejected by the Turkish Government, notwithstanding the appearance of English, French, and Russian warships in the eastern part of the Mediterranean. Reshid Pasha and Ibrahim continued their efforts to bring the whole insurgent district into thorough subjection, and accordingly the patriotic Greeks and their foreign supporters continued to act on the defensive. Lord Cochrane and a few others, indeed, were eager to secure action bolder than ever, considering that, when the settling-time arrived, the limits of independent Greece would be augmented if a larger area was then the scene of zealous opposition to the Turkish power. This it was that chiefly induced the efforts to quicken the revolt in Albania, and when Lord Cochrane was prevented by Sir Edward Codrington from persevering in his work in that quarter, he lost no time in sailing round to the eastern side of Greece, there to do his utmost towards rousing the people of Candia and other islands into an assertion of their independence, in order that they

too might have a claim to be included in the liberation of the Greeks.

The message from Sir Edward Codrington to Lord Cochrane, which has been quoted, was dated the 25th of September. It was written immediately after an interview of the English commander and Admiral de Rigny, who was in charge of the French squadron, with Ibrahim Pasha. To him they had formally announced that they were instructed to insist upon a cessation of hostilities, and that they should promptly act upon their instructions. Ibrahim answered that he had orders from the Sultan to continue the war, but he promised to communicate with his sovereign, and pledged himself to abstain from hostilities until the answer arrived and was reported to the allied fleets. Before that answer came a fortunate series of accidents, arising out of Lord Cochrane's expedition to the Albanian coast, turned the current of diplomacy and secured for Greece more freedom than had been anticipated.

Lord Cochrane, attended by his Greek vessels, had left the neighbourhood of Cape Papas on the 27th of September. But, though deeming himself bound in honour to that course, he was willing to allow a part of his force to remain in the neighbourhood and watch the progress of events, especially as that part was at the time separated from him and lying in the

Gulf of Lepanto. It consisted of the *Karteria*, under Captain Abney Hastings, the *Sauveur*, under Captain Thomas, and two gunboats, each mounting a 32-pounder. For a week this little squadron, ignorant of the arrangement between the allied admirals and Ibrahim Pasha, watched a Turkish force that was moored in the Scala of Salona, and comprised one large Algerine schooner carrying twenty brass guns, a brig of fourteen guns, six smaller brigs and schooners, two gunboats, and two armed transports. These vessels were protected by batteries on the level shore and other batteries on overhanging rocks. On the 30th of September, Captains Hastings and Thomas proceeded to attack them, and did so with excellent effect. The solid shot of the *Sauveur* and the gunboats soon silenced the batteries; the red-hot shells of the *Karteria* made havoc of the enemy's vessels, four being defeated within half-an-hour. Soon the *Sauveur* and the gunboats joined in the attack on the shipping, and, in the end, seven vessels were destroyed and three captured.

The news of that victory, as soon as it was conveyed to Navarino, where nearly all the naval force of the Turks was lying, roused the anger of Ibrahim Pasha, who complained that the allied powers, while binding him to inaction, allowed the Greeks to carry on the war. On the 1st of October, he sent out

thirty war-ships with orders to enter the Gulf of Lepanto and punish Hastings and Thomas for their recent exploits. Sir Edward Codrington, however, pursued them, and drove them back to Navarino. Ibrahim Pasha, not easily to be baffled, himself left Navarino, on the evening of the 3rd, with fourteen of his stoutest vessels. Again Sir Edward Codrington gave chase, and this second squadron also was compelled by him to return to port. Ibrahim Pasha, however, was not to be robbed of his revenge. He dared not leave Navarino by sea, but he sent thence a land force, which marched up to the northern side of the Morea, and did serious mischief to the worn-out fragment of an army which General Church was slowly conducting from Corinth to Papas, there to be embarked for Albania. Only by the unlooked-for valour of young Kolokotrones and his section was the rout of the whole army averted. Nor was Ibrahim satisfied with this act of retaliation. His troops scoured all the adjoining country, burning villages and laying waste the olive-groves and fig-gardens which were the only source of subsistence to the luckless natives.

Thereby Sir Edward Codrington and his allies were in turn incensed. They decided that the time had come for direct interference in the struggle, and for the expulsion of the Ottoman forces from the

Morea. In the afternoon of the 20th of October, five and twenty line-of-battle ships, frigates, and sloops entered the Bay of Navarino. Ten of them were English, seven were French, and eight were Russian, and they carried in all 1172 guns. Twenty thousand Ottoman troops watched them from the fortresses of Navarino and Sphakteria, and, as they entered the harbour, they saw some eighty Turkish and Egyptian vessels, mounting about 2000 guns, drawn up in the shape of a horseshoe to receive them. They had come only to threaten; but accident, or design on the part of the enemy, brought about a most momentous battle.

A volley from the Ottomans began the fight, which was continued for four hours with stolid energy on both sides. The English and French vessels, being foremost, carried on the chief contest with the enemy's shipping; the Russians had to silence the batteries before they could enter the harbour, but then their Admiral, Count Heyden, did his full share of the deadly work. The fighting lasted till sunset; but by that time many of the enemy's hulks were in flames, and all through the night these flames spread from one vessel to another till nearly all were destroyed. At daybreak, only twenty-nine out of the eighty were afloat, and six thousand or more Moslems had been slain, burnt, or drowned.

Many of the vessels of the allies were seriously damaged, and of their crews a hundred and seventy-five men were killed, and four hundred and fifty wounded.

That was the battle of Navarino. "I have the honour to inform you," wrote Sir Edward Codrington to the Greek Government, "that, according to the decision of my colleagues, Count Heyden and Rear-Admiral de Rigny, and myself, the combined fleet entered this port at two o'clock on the 20th, that some of the ships of the Turko-Egyptian fleet first began a fire of musketry, and then fired cannon-shot, which led very shortly to a general battle, which lasted till dark, and that the consequence of this has been the destruction of the whole of the Turkish fleet, except a few corvettes and brigs. Most of the ships of the allied fleets have received so much injury that they must go into port; but if the Greek vessels of war are employed against their enemy instead of destroying the commerce of the allies, they may henceforth easily obstruct the movements of any Turkish force by sea."

CHAPTER XXI.

THE FIRST CONSEQUENCES OF THE INTERFERENCE OF THE ALLIED POWERS AND THE BATTLE OF NAVARINO.—LORD COCHRANE'S INTENDED SHARE IN FABVIER'S EXPEDITION TO CHIOS.—ITS ABANDONMENT.—HIS CRUISE AMONG THE ISLANDS AND ABOUT NAVARINO.—HIS EFFORTS TO REPRESS PIRACY.—HIS RETURN TO THE ARCHIPELAGO.—THE MISCONDUCT OF THE GOVERNMENT.—LORD COCHRANE'S COMPLAINTS.—HIS LETTERS TO THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE ALLIED POWERS, ACQUITTING HIMSELF OF COMPLICITY IN GREEK PIRACY.—HIS FURTHER COMPLAINTS TO THE GOVERNMENT.—HIS RESOLUTION TO VISIT ENGLAND.—HIS LETTER TO COUNT CAPODISTRIAS EXPLAINING AND JUSTIFYING THAT RESOLUTION.—HIS DEPARTURE FROM GREECE, AND ARRIVAL AT PORTSMOUTH.—HIS LETTER TO M. EYNARD.

[1827—1828.]

HEARTILY rejoicing at the benefit conferred on Greece by the battle of Navarino, Lord Cochrane could not but be troubled to think that the overthrow of the Turkish and Egyptian fleet, which he had laboured so zealously to effect, and which, had he received any adequate support from the Government or the people, would have been a work as easy for him as the enterprises in which he had been so notably successful in former times and other countries, had to be done by the officers and ships of

foreign nations instead of by him and the native fleet of which, by name, he was commander-in-chief. The battle being won, however, he tried, with no flagging of his energy, to complete the triumph that had been thus begun, and, if anything was easy to a people so wanting in patriotism, made easier.

He was at Poros at the time of the battle. On his way thither he had fallen in with the *Enterprise*, the first of the steamers built in England, and which, with others that never were completed at all, ought to have been completed nearly two years before. The *Enterprise* had been so badly constructed, that now that she arrived, she was of very little use. Lord Cochrane was now trying to improve her sailing powers, and at the same time attempting to collect a really manageable crew for the *Hellas*, and to bring together other vessels fit for naval work. In these labours there was no less difficulty than had befallen him on former occasions. The *Hellas* was in want of water; but the inhabitants of Poros refused to supply it, on the plea that they had no more than was needed for their lemon-gardens. Some carpentering was urgently needed by the *Enterprise*; but, as it had to be done on Sunday, the workmen declined to touch a hammer, notwithstanding the exhortations of a priest who promised them absolution, and even threatened to

excommunicate them if they failed in their duty to the country in this pressing time of its necessity. Of those sorts were the obstacles that occurred each day, and rendered futile all the efforts of Lord Cochrane and his officers.

On the 27th of October, Lord Cochrane again set sail from Poros in the *Hellas*, accompanied by the *Sauveur*, and the corvette which he had lately taken from the Turks, to which the name of *Hydra* was now given, and proceeded to Chios. That island, the scene of previous disasters, had since 1822 been left in the hands of the Turks. Colonel Fabvier was now attempting to recover it for Greece, and Lord Cochrane entered heartily into the work. He arrived on the 30th, and spent two days in vigorous co-operation with the land force that had reached the island a day before. His share in this enterprise, however, was brief. He was visited on the 2nd of November first by Captain Le Blanc, bearing a message from Admiral de Rigny, and afterwards by Captain Hamilton, who produced a copy of a letter addressed on the 24th of October to the Legislative Assembly by the Admirals of the three allied powers. "We will not suffer Greece," they there said, "to send any expedition to cruise or blockade, except between Lepanto and Volo, comprehending Salamis, Egina, Hydra, and Spetzas. We will not suffer the Greeks

to carry insurrection into either Chios or Albania, and, by so doing, to expose the inhabitants to the cruel reprisals of the Turks. We regard as null and void all letters of marque given to cruisers found beyond the above limits; and the ships-of-war of the allied powers will everywhere have orders to detain them. There remains no longer any pretence for them. The maritime armistice is, in fact, observed on the side of the Turks, since their fleet no longer exists. Take care of yours, for we will destroy it also, if the case requires it, to put an end to a system of maritime pillage which will end by putting you out of the protection of the law of nations."

By that letter, Lord Cochrane was constrained to abandon his intended work at Chios. He could excuse the angry terms in which it was couched, since the anger was only directed against the same unpatriotic conduct which he had all along been denouncing. He was painfully aware that, with the exception of his own flag-ship and the few vessels commanded by English officers, his fleet was chiefly composed of pirates, who only took temporary service under the national flag in order to fill up their idle time, or to make their public service an occasion for further clandestine pursuit of their lawless avocations. From the first he had persistently and fiercely denounced this piracy, and from the day on which he

had heard of the victory at Navarino he had resolved to make it a special business to do all in his power to root out the evil. "The destruction of the Ottoman fleet by that of the allied powers," he had said in a proclamation dated the 29th of October, "having delivered the Greek fleet from the cares which had necessarily occupied its attention, and the commander of the maritime forces of Greece having the right to take due measures for the extinction of piracy, to preserve the honour of the State, and to protect the people and property of friendly nations, it is now made known that ships of less than a hundred tons' burden are not to have arms on board, unless they are first provided with express commissions, so registered and numbered in such a manner that the number shall be conspicuously noted on the ship. All other vessels of the size defined which shall be found at sea with arms will be considered as pirates, and the crews shall be brought to trial, and, if found guilty, be executed."

For the brief remainder of his service in Greece, indeed, Lord Cochrane made it his principal duty to do all in his power towards the suppression of piracy. The admirals of the allies having insisted that the Greek vessels should do nothing but watch their own coasts within a distance of twelve miles from the shore, he proceeded to the southern part of

the Morea, making only a short tour, in order to meet the primates of Samos, Naxia, Paros, Candia, and other islands, and ascertain from them the condition of the people and their power of resistance to the Turks and to their piratical enemies of their own race. The information gained by him was not satisfactory. He found that here, as in the mainland and the nearer islands, patriotism was weak and misrule oppressive. Everywhere the people were the victims of their own want of patriotism and of the tyranny of foes, both Moslem and Christian.

He was off Cerigo on the 15th of November. There, having heard that the residue of the Turkish and Egyptian fleet was preparing to put to sea with all the available force, apparently to carry on the war in Candia, he at once sailed on to the south-eastern promontory of the Morea, and, during a fortnight, maintained the blockade on both sides of Navarino, between Coron and Prodana. There also he was able to carry on his war against pirates. "The *Hellas* being off the island of Prodana, a few miles to the north of Navarino," he reported to the Government, describing an important adventure of the 21st of November, "I sent two boats for the purpose of procuring wood from the island. The boats, being fired upon from persons near to some vessels in a cove, returned with a report that there were Turks

upon the island. In consequence of this report, the corvette *Hydra* was directed to enter by the northern passage, whilst the *Hellas* entered to the southward of the island, and both vessels anchored opposite to the place where the supposed Turkish vessels were at anchor. It was immediately perceived, however, that the vessels were not Turkish, and, on examination, one proved to be a schooner under the Greek flag. It was soon discovered that a Dutch vessel at anchor in the same port had been seized, without the slightest pretence, by the schooner and plundered of almost everything that could be removed, and, moreover, that the captain and crew had been most barbarously flogged, for the purpose of ascertaining where the proceeds of the outward cargo were deposited."

Lord Cochrane wrote to the same effect to the Governor of Zante. "I have left the piratical vessel with a petty officer and sufficient crew to blockade Prodana, until you can send and seize the pirates, should you think proper, as they have been plundering and annoying the trade of the Ionian Islands. I send two of the pirates in irons, in order that, obtaining further information, you may deal with them and with the others according to the law of nations."

That instance of the policy adopted by Lord Cochrane will help to show how he set himself to put down

piracy. The work was not easy, as the lawless conduct was secretly authorised by the Government, and practised with very little secresy by great numbers of the national vessels. It was in vain that he issued the proclamation of the 27th of October, that has been quoted; in vain, too, that he sent two gunboats to visit all the principal ports, with fresh injunctions against piracy and with authority to compel obedience to those injunctions, if necessary, by force. Good work, however, was done by these gunboats, in conjunction with two brigs detached for the purpose, in escorting neutral trading vessels through the waters most infested by the sea-robbers.

Slowly and painfully the conviction was forced upon Lord Cochrane that, after all his previous failures in attempting to turn the lawless Greeks into honest patriots and to convert their ill-manned ships into members of an efficient navy, his labours were now more useless than ever. After a fortnight's cruising about Navarino, he retraced his course and anchored, on the 3rd of December, off Egina, where the so-called Government was then located. To it he wrote on that day, asking for directions as to his mode of procedure. "The squadron under my command," he said, "has been in the blockade of Coron, Modon, and Navarino, and I have to inform your excellencies that there yet exists in the port of

Navarino a naval force, under the Turkish flag, superior to the force under my command. I have, therefore, felt it my duty to repair to this port, in order that I may obtain instructions for my guidance, more especially as the Turkish squadron is ready for sea, and said to be destined for Candia, with ten thousand men, intending there to repeat the barbarities which the want of provisions in the Morea renders it impossible they can longer perpetrate in that quarter. There is also a great number of captive women and children about to be transported as slaves, and the only force of the allied powers off Navarino consists of a small brig, the *Pelican*, which is totally inadequate to impede the naval operations of the Turks. Under these circumstances, I beg to be explicitly informed whether I am to consider that 'the armistice *de facto*' continues, and if you have any doubt on the subject that you will be pleased candidly to inform me, that I may not be led into error, and so increase the evils by doing anything in opposition to the intentions of the allied powers."

That letter was answered by a personal visit from the members of the Government, when Lord Cochrane was informed that the triumvirate was so embarrassed by the demands of the allied powers for restitution on account of piracies committed with its approval that it could neither do nor sanction any

thing at all. He was told that even the scanty means that he had had for supporting the fleet out of the revenues of the islands could no longer be allowed to him, as every dollar that could any how be collected would be required for other purposes.

Still, however, the Government expected him to continue his work, and he was even asked to do work from which, both for his own honour and in the interests of Greece, he felt bound to abstain. "I have received your letter," he wrote to the Secretary, about ten days afterwards, from Poros, "informing me that it is the desire of the Government that a national vessel shall be despatched to Chios, in the event of my being prevented from personally proceeding in the *Hellas* to that island. In reply to this intimation, I have to state to you that it is impossible for me, consistently with the duties which I owe to Greece, to place the national squadron, whilst it shall continue under my command, or any part thereof, under circumstances to be treated by the ships-of-war of the allied powers after the manner set forth in the letter of the 24th of October, addressed by the three admirals to the Legislative Assembly,—a determination which is even more painful to me than the grief I feel at finding myself involved, notwithstanding all my precautions, in the restrictions and penalties justly laid upon privateers and pirates. I

cannot trust myself to say more on this subject, lest I should be led by my feelings to pass the bounds which I prescribe to myself as an officer when treating of the conduct of the Government which he serves. If Chios remains unprotected, if Candia is deprived of the aid it might receive from the national marine, and if the ships-of-war are incapacitated from extending the bounds of Greece, I have the consolation of knowing that I have used my utmost endeavours to prevent the evils I foresaw. One of these, however, I was far from anticipating,—namely, that the revenues which I was authorised to collect for the service of the marine would have been withdrawn from my control and expended for other purposes; more particularly that sums so diverted should be placed to the account of the marine, without the objects for which they were employed having received my sanction or even been known by me.

"I have struggled during eight months in the service of Greece against difficulties far greater than all I ever encountered before; and I would most willingly continue to contend with these, did I find the slightest co-operation in any quarter. But, as the Government has withdrawn *de facto* the resources decreed, and the seamen decline to embark without pay in advance, and the funds, arising from the philanthropy of other European nations, which supplied

the navy with the means of subsistence, are wholly exhausted, I have no alternative but to lay the ships up in port, until means to defray the expenses of the navy shall be found. I have myself, during the last month, paid the Greeks in the naval service; but whilst I see that even the share of prizes claimed by Government is diverted from its proper use, I shall not continue to be answerable for future expenses, nor for the liquidation of the just claims of the foreign officers, which they have had the patience to leave in arrears for many months."

It had come to this. Lord Cochrane had been devoting all his energies to the service of Greece; and now he found himself deserted by his employers, or only retained in the hope that he would be an unpaid agent in piratical and lawless proceedings.

That last circumstance was to him the most painful of all. Having done his utmost to restrain the piracy that was rife, he was still regarded by the governing triumvirate as only the most powerful instrument for achievements that were little better than piratical; and the same cruel misrepresentation of his functions was common among his enemies in England and other parts of Europe. Colour for this misrepresentation appeared in the celebrated letter written by the three admirals on the 24th of October, which, describing the national fleet as a mere crowd of

"Greek corsairs," by implication included Lord Cochrane and his English supporters in the same opprobrium. This had not at first been perceived by him. On his detecting the insult, he wrote to the representatives of the three powers three letters, which here need to be quoted in his justification.

The first was addressed, on the 13th of December, to Captain Le Blanc, commander of the *Junon*. "The silence respecting the regular forces under my orders," he said, "observed in the letter of the admirals of the mediating powers, dated October the 24th, 1827, appearing to make no distinction between them and the mere pirates, hanging over both the same accusations, and subjecting consequently the former to the restrictions wisely adopted towards the latter, makes it my duty, both towards the country which I serve, towards the officers under my command, and towards myself, to protest publicly and in the face of Europe, against the interpretations to which such a document seems to give foundation. The detailed account of the conduct of those ships of war which are under my immediate orders, and which compose the national squadron of Greece, will prove that no neutral vessel whatever has been seized, driven out of its course, or stopped by them under any pretext whatever, with the exception of such as have broken the blockade of Lepanto, the detention of which is

legalized by the act above mentioned. These facts are undeniable. The conduct of the officers of the national squadron has been conformable, in all points, to the laws of nations and to the instructions issued by the admirals, in their character of representatives of the mediating Powers. No hostility has been committed by the national vessels against the territory or the forces of the Turco-Egyptian Government, placed beyond the prescribed limits of Lepanto. But, if such be the state of things, I have the right of sending on a mission, for the public service, ships of war beyond these limits, and, availing myself of that right, I have despatched two (the one to Corfu, and the other to Syra), the destination of which relates to the finances of the navy. Be pleased, sir, to communicate the contents of this letter to Admiral de Rigny, with whom you have communicated verbally on the subject, and explain to him the propriety of this step, to avoid explanations with which it is not necessary that the public should intermix."

The second letter, dated the 5th of January, 1828, was to the commander of the Russian frigate *Constantine*. "Although I am aware," wrote Lord Cochrane, "that his excellency, Count Heyden, when he affixed his signature to the letter of the Admirals, addressed to the Legislative Assembly of Greece, dated the 24th of October, could not attest, of his

own knowledge, the truth of the imputations contained in the said document; yet, as the public may not recollect that the recent arrival of the Count precluded the possibility of his being in the slightest degree acquainted with facts regarding the regular naval service under my command, I expect from the Count, that so soon as he shall have informed himself on the subject, he will take the necessary steps to remove an evil impression which he unconsciously has contributed to produce, and thus save me, in as far as the Count is concerned, the necessity, always disagreeable, even of a satisfactory refutation of the imputations cast upon me as Commander-in-Chief of the Greek fleet."

The third letter was to Commodore Hamilton, of the *Cambrian*, who had been left by Sir Edward Codrington to represent the British squadron in the Archipelago. "The Government of Greece having acquiesced in the offer made by the three Powers to mediate in her behalf," wrote Lord Cochrane, "it became my duty to obey the decision of the admirals representing those Powers, when duly communicated. But whilst my official situation demands acquiescence on points of a public nature, it is far otherwise when the Admirals give reasons affecting the character of the regular naval service of Greece, in justification of restrictions imposed by them on the

movements of the squadron I command, accompanied by threats to destroy the Greek vessels of war, in order to prevent asserted piracy. You, sir, who are accurately acquainted with facts, and now possess ample means of ascertaining the truth here upon the spot, must know, or may learn, that no neutral vessel has been seized or disturbed in her course by the national squadron on the high seas, nor any vessel detained, except those acting in violation of the blockades acknowledged by these very Admirals. Is it not then extraordinary that such limitations and menaces on false grounds should originate with persons whose high official situations would seem to sanction imputation under their signatures? I have told the French and Russian commanders, and I hope you will assure the British Admiral, that I shall be loth to trespass on public attention with explanations, to refute their joint letter of the 24th of October, in justification of those under my orders; but it will become me so to do unless a satisfactory interpretation shall be given to expressions which, at present, seem even more particularly personal to myself."

That was almost the last letter written by Lord Cochrane in Greece for many months. Finding his position as First Admiral of the Greek navy, without work to do or crews to direct, unbearable, he had

resolved upon a fresh expedient for attempting to improve the state of affairs. Before that, however, he made a last attempt to gain support from the nominal Government, and uttered a last protest against its mode of procedure. "I have strenuously endeavoured," he wrote on the 18th of December, "to avoid laying before you any complaint, more particularly concerning acts done by your excellencies; but there is a point at which such forbearance on my part would become a dereliction of my duty as an officer in the service of Greece, amounting even to treason against the State." So long as the evils extended no further than the depriving the ships-of-war of their crews, and preventing the brulottes from being equipped for service; so long as the injury occasioned by the granting of numerous licences to privateers only prevented naval operations from being carried on against the enemy, I remained silent. But now that the conduct of those privateers has brought down upon the Greek nation a threat of being placed out of the law of nations, and has involved the national squadron, unmeritedly, in the disgrace attached to those who have been guilty of unlawful acts, it is my duty to notify to your excellencies that I consider all authorities given without my intervention to armed vessels, of any description, for belligerent purposes, to be illegal, and that I

have given orders to the national vessels under my authority to seize them, wherever they may be found, that they may be judged according to the law of nations." "I have been waiting with anxiety," he wrote in another letter, a few days later, "for the occurrence of events which would have rendered it unnecessary for me to enter into any correspondence with your excellencies on pecuniary matters; but, unfortunately, my anticipations on this head having been disappointed, and the squadron being without even the provisions necessary for the maintenance of the few men required on board the ships when at anchor, it has become an imperious duty no longer to delay calling upon your excellencies to fulfil the engagement entered into relative to the appropriation of two-thirds of the revenues of the islands, which you have thought fit to apply to other purposes."

To neither letter was any satisfactory answer sent by the authorities, and Lord Cochrane, after all his previous troubles, believed that none would ever be obtained. He therefore suddenly resolved to leave Greece for a time, to go himself to England and France, and there, by personal communication with the leading Philhellenes, to describe the actual condition of Greece, and to see if any better state of affairs could be brought about. This resolution he announced on the 1st of January, 1828, to Count Capodistrias,

who, having been elected President of Greece nearly nine months before, and having accepted that office, had not yet thought fit to enter upon it or to do anything towards repairing the shattered fortunes and retrieving the violated honour of the State of which he was nominally the head.

"On my return home from Brazil," said Lord Cochrane, in this memorable letter, "I was pressed by various friends of Greece to engage in the service of a people struggling to free themselves from oppression and slavery. My inclination was consonant to theirs. It was stipulated that, for the objects in view, six steam-vessels should be rapidly built, and that two old vessels of war, or Indiamen, should be purchased and manned with foreign seamen. The engines for the steam-vessels were to be high-pressure, these being the easiest constructed and managed; and two American frigates, when finished, were also to be placed under my authority. The failure of the engineer, through disgraceful ignorance or base treachery, in the proper construction of the engines—the want of funds to procure the old vessels of war or Indiamen with foreign seamen—and the retention of one of the frigates built in North America, deprived me of the whole of the stipulated force, except the *Hellas*. It is needless to remark that with one frigate I was unable

to effect that which has since required eleven European ships of the line, aided by many frigates and smaller vessels, to accomplish. Under these circumstances, it became my duty to confine myself to desultory operations, secretly conducted against the enemy.

"The difficulties I have had to contend with, even in these excursions," he continued, "can best be appreciated by the few foreign European officers who accompanied me. The obstinate refusal of the Greek seamen to embark or perform the smallest service without being paid in advance—the contempt with which the elder portion of the seamen treated every endeavour to promote regularity and maintain silence in exercising the great guns and other evolutions, rendered their improvement hopeless; and the enlistment of young seamen, whilst the old were rejected, has been rendered extremely difficult by reason of the influence of the latter, and by the prejudice excited against a regular naval service by influential individuals, whose power and importance are thereby diminished in the maritime islands. The frequent mutinies or resistance to authority, and the numerous instances in which I have been obliged to return to port or abstain from going to sea are recorded, as to dates and circumstances, in the log-book of the *Hellas*, together with the disgraceful conduct of the crew in the stripping and

robbing of prisoners, and their want of coolness in the presence of an enemy—exemplified on our attacking a small frigate and a corvette near Clarenza, and by the firing of upwards of four hundred round shot, on a subsequent occasion, at the corvette now named *Hydra*, without hitting the hull of that vessel four times, although she was within a hundred yards of the *Hellas*. Such was the confusion excited by the contiguity even of so inferior an enemy. It is not my intention to trouble you at present with detail; yet I cannot suffer to pass unnoticed that certain commanders, and the seamen of the majority of the fireships—in the use of which vessels rested my last hopes—failed in their duty on the only two important occasions when their services were required; once at Alexandria in the presence of the enemy, as the brave Kanaris can well testify; and again by the crews abandoning their duty and embarking in privateers, many of them after having received pay in advance for their services. Indeed—encouraged by privateering licenses—insubordination, outrage, and piracy have arrived at such a pitch that these very national fireships, stripped not only of their rigging, but of their anchors and cables, are now drifting about the harbour of Poros. A neutral boat, detained by the *Hellas* for violation of blockade, has been plundered by those sent in charge of her;

and scarcely a vessel can pass between the islands, or along the shore, without the passengers and property being exposed to brutal violence and plunder. A darker period is yet approaching if decisive measures are not adopted for the suppression of outrages like these.

"I am ready to serve Greece, and to aid in any way in the accomplishment of the arduous task you have undertaken; but, on the fullest consideration of circumstances, I feel that I should practise a deception were I to contribute to the belief that the few foreign officers in the naval service can put a stop to these disorders, which must finally involve the character of that very service, already prematurely brought in question by the conduct of vessels unlawfully commissioned by the temporary Government. I have, in consequence of this opinion, come to the resolution to exert myself to procure adequate means to execute the duties of an office in which my efforts hitherto have been all counteracted; and I the more readily adopt this resolution as, during the winter months, it is impossible to navigate the *Hellas* in these narrow seas with a crew of young inexperienced Greek seamen, and still more impracticable to manage her with old ones of Turkish habits. I may, indeed, add that, until the communication addressed on the 24th of October by the three admirals

to the Legislative Assembly, shall be cancelled, it is hopeless to attempt any naval enterprise in favour of Greece, even had Admiral de Rigny not superadded his commands 'that all Greek vessels, armed for war, found beyond twelve miles from the shores of continental Greece, between Volo and Lepanto, shall be destroyed.' I repeat that I have taken my determination, not from any private feeling of disgust at the above disgraceful restrictions brought by the temporary Government; nor from their misappropriation of the revenues allotted to maritime purposes, and the consequent want of pay, stores, and even provisions for the ships of war; nor from the painful feeling that the crippled ships of the enemy are thereby enabled to depart in security, dragging with them four thousand Grecian captives to slavery; nor from the impossibility of reducing their maritime fortifications, while the Greeks, unpunished, are the chief violators of the blockade; but I have resolved to proceed to England without loss of time, that I may render better service to Greece. If you aid me with means, my object as to seamen will be ensured. Sober, steady men can be obtained from the northern nations, who will do their duty, and, since precept is useless, teach the Greeks by example. Then piracy may cease and commerce may flourish. Be your intention in regard to the

steam-vessels still in England what it may, foreign seamen are indispensable to the interests of Greece and to your own; and the expense of bringing them here will be little increased if these steamers, fitted under my inspection, shall become the means of their conveyance. The hardship of a winter's voyage to the North, in a small vessel, I shall deem amply repaid if I can accomplish these objects, expose the injustice and impolicy of certain measures, and bring the real wants of Greece to the knowledge of a liberal and enlightened administration."

On the same New Year's Day Lord Cochrane wrote, explaining his resolution, to Dr. Gosse, who, of all the Philhellenes in Greece, had rendered him most efficient service in his thankless task, and most zealously encouraged him, throughout a long series of failures for which he was in no way answerable, to persevere in struggling for success. "My dear friend and fellow-sufferer," he said, "in conformity with your wish and opinion, I have tolerated my mental load of grievances until the new year; but as it is essential to commence it well in order that measures may prosper to the end, I have resolved to put my intention in execution, regardless of the officious tongues of those of microscopic views who may deem that my time might be well employed in balancing the rivalships of barbarous seamen or

protecting the movable stores of the immovable *Hellas*. In my present state of official insignificance I could render no other service. I have stated a few of my reasons in a letter to Capodistrias, for his private information, when he shall assume the office of president. I hope these will suffice, and that he will communicate his desire, which shall be duly attended to."

In accordance with his new resolution, Lord Cochrane transferred the command of the *Hellas*, and such control of the whole navy as was possible, to Admiral Miaoulis. He left Poros in the little schooner *Unicorn*, on the 10th of January, and arrived at Portsmouth on the 11th of February. "The anxiety and disappointment," he said, writing to M. Eynard from Portsmouth on the following day, "which I experienced in regard to the steam-vessels and other means that were to have been placed at my disposal are trifling, when compared to the distress I have felt at finding my only remaining hope of rendering effectual service to Greece destroyed by the impossibility of inducing the Greek seamen to submit to the slightest restraint on their inclinations, or to render the most trifling service without being paid in advance, or to perform such service after being so paid, if it suited their interest or convenience to evade the fulfilment of their engagement. More than six

crews have passed under my review on board the *Hellas* in the course of as many months, exclusive of those in other vessels, and, notwithstanding all that has been written to praise the courage of the Greek seamen, they are collectively the greatest cowards I have ever met with. No service of any difficulty or danger can be undertaken with such men without the greatest risk of being compromised by the confusion they create, and the impossibility of causing orders to be obeyed. Indeed, though styled Commander-in-Chief of the Greek Naval Forces, I have, since the 12th of April last, when I hoisted my flag, been, in truth, under the control of wild and frantic savages, whose acts are guided by momentary impulses or heedless avidity to grasp some immediate pecuniary or petty advantage, regardless of any prospect of future benefit, however great, to their country or to themselves. To give you an idea of the character of men suddenly emancipated from a state of the most degrading and abject slavery, in which state cunning, deception, and fraud, if not absolutely requisite, were convenient and profitable, of their present arrogancy, ignorance, despotism, and cruelty, when safe opportunity offers for revenge, would require that a diary should be laid before you of events which have actually occurred. The confidence you were pleased to repose in me, and the

friendly offices for which I am indebted to you would have imposed upon me the task of transmitting to you such detail, had the state of my mind, harassed by constant contrarieties, permitted.

"Leaving to a future period, then, minute recital of distressing occurrences, permit me to make a few observations as to the course that appears to be necessary to be pursued in order to save Greece from impending ruin:—1st. The chief leaders of the different factions should be removed from Greece,—those who have education, on missions to different states, as envoys, consuls, etc., and the others, as circumstances will permit. Else Greece will be a theatre of plunder and discord whilst they hold authority or have means to interfere in public affairs. 2ndly. Troops to the amount of four thousand, at least, are required to enforce obedience to salutary laws and regulations. 3rdly. Five hundred seamen from the northern nations of Europe or North America are indispensable for the suppression of piracy and to prevent the plunder of the islands. 4thly. Young Greek seamen should be employed by the civilized nations in their vessels of war and commerce. 5thly. The settlement of persons from all quarters of Europe, in numbers affording mutual protection, should be encouraged. Of course education at home, but more especially abroad, will im-

prove the rising generation. For all those people now at the age of maturity in Greece there is no hope of amelioration. In regard to myself, I am ready, according to my engagement, to render any service in my power to Greece, and I shall feel great satisfaction if I am enabled to do so; but it is no part of my contract to place myself under the control of lawless savages. What might we not have done, had the steam-vessels and five hundred good seamen been employed in Greece, when, with these barbarians, we have doubled the number of Greek national vessels of war, and destroyed twice as many of the enemy's squadron? I hope the President Capodistrias will not put his foot on shore in Greece, unless accompanied by a military force. If he does, he will afford corroborative proof of the impossibility of establishing a new order of things by the instrumentality of men who feel interested in the continuance of ancient habits and abuses." *

* See Appendix.

CHAPTER XXII.

LORD COCHRANE'S OCCUPATIONS ON BEHALF OF GREECE IN LONDON AND PARIS.—HIS SECOND LETTER TO CAPODISTRIAS.—HIS DEFENCE OF HIMSELF WITH REFERENCE TO HIS VISIT TO WESTERN EUROPE.—HIS RETURN TO GREECE.—CAPODISTRIAS'S PRESIDENCY AND THE PROGRESS OF GREECE.—LORD COCHRANE'S RECEPTION BY THE GOVERNMENT.—THE SETTLEMENT OF HIS ACCOUNTS.—HIS LETTER OF RESIGNATION.—THE FINAL INDIGNITIES TO WHICH HE WAS SUBJECTED.—THE CORRESPONDENCE THEREUPON BETWEEN ADMIRAL HEYDEN AND DR. GOSSE.—LORD COCHRANE'S DEPARTURE FROM GREECE.—HIS OPINIONS REGARDING HER.—THE CHARACTER AND ISSUES OF HIS SERVICES TO THE GREEKS.

[1828—1829.]

LORD COCHRANE'S absence from Greece was longer and less advantageous than he anticipated. Arriving in London on the 19th of February, 1828, he found that the English Philhellenes were tired out by the bad faith and the unpatriotic conduct of the Greeks, and that the English Government, which he had hoped to influence so far as to obtain an alteration in the Foreign Enlistment Act which would enable him to secure the services of a well-trained force of British seamen, was determined to give no help in the matter. He found, too, that the steam-vessels yet

to be furnished in accordance with the old contract with Mr. Galloway were still unfinished, and that there would be no little trouble and delay, added to all that had already been endured, before their completion could be hoped for. Not disheartened, however, he went almost immediately to Paris, there to see what could be expected from the Philhellenes of the Continent.

"I have taken steps," he wrote to M. Eynard from Paris on the 2nd of March, "to cause one of our small steam-vessels to be fitted with proper engines, the expense of which I shall find means to defray. I hope the President will favour me with a communication at an early date, at least, to say whether he has means to pay and victual a few hundreds of foreign seamen, and thus put my mind at rest. For he must depend on foreign aid to support him in his government, protect commerce, and enable a revenue to be derived from the latent resources of Greece. The Greeks themselves will do nothing towards these objects; though there will not be wanting individuals who will endeavour, for their personal views, to persuade them to the contrary of this. My mind is not yet sufficiently tranquil to give detailed reasons for my opinion that things will not succeed in Greece without troops and other foreign aid; but such time will prove to be the case."

"Were the three great powers," he said in another letter to M. Eynard, dated the 17th of March, "pleased to aid the President with funds to a small amount, they would accomplish more for their own benefit and that of Greece, than by great fleets and armies. Four thousand troops, under the Greek Government, and five hundred seamen, would terminate the affair; but never will anarchy cease or piracy be put down, nor will Capodistrias be secure, unless he has, under his own authority, the means of enforcing obedience to the laws and regulations for the public good by sea and land. I have told you that the Greek seamen cannot be used to suppress piracy, and I may truly add that no Greeks of age to bear arms can become soldiers, though they learn readily enough to perform the military exercises. There neither is nor has yet been, since my arrival in Greece, one single company—not even the marines, with which so much pains was taken—that deserves the name of regular. Their ideas are quite repugnant to everything that constitutes the military character."

Lord Cochrane, who, it will be remembered, was chiefly instrumental in the election of Count John Capodistrias as President of Greece in April, 1827, had hoped much from his government. His confidence was not a little shaken by the long delay

which the President had shown in entering on his office, and when Capodistrias arrived in Greece, only a few days after Lord Cochrane's departure, his first acts were calculated to shake that confidence yet more. He introduced many solid reforms; but in other respects clung to the old and bad traditions of the people, and, which was yet worse, allowed himself to be guided by some of the worst placehunters and most skilful abusers of national power, whom he ought to have most carefully avoided. Lord Cochrane began to perceive this before he had been six weeks out of Greece. He yet hoped, however, that wise counsels and good government would prevail, and he tendered his advice, while he reported his own movements, in a second letter which he addressed to Capodistrias.

"The information which your excellency must have acquired since your arrival in Greece," he wrote to him on the 22nd of March, "may have convinced you of the facts briefly touched on in the letter which I had the honour to address to you on the 1st of January, and may also have proved to you the impossibility, under existing circumstances, of my rendering service to Greece, otherwise than by the course I have pursued. Although, on my arrival in England, I was disappointed at finding other ministers than those I expected in the counsels of

his Britannic Majesty, yet I had an opportunity of making facts known to influential individuals in proof that the interests of England would be best promoted by a liberal policy towards Greece, and by placing that country, without loss of time, in the rank of an independent state, having boundaries the most extensive that could be conceded. Since then, I have had several conversations here with the gentlemen of the Paris Greek Committee, and I have advised them to assure the ministers that large naval and military armaments are not required for the expulsion of the Turkish and Egyptian forces from Greece, or to protect that country from farther attempts at invasion by the before-mentioned powers; that for the speedy regulation of the internal affairs of Greece, and the support of your authority, it would be far preferable and infinitely less costly for the mediating powers to place in your hands the means of maintaining four or five thousand troops, together with five hundred seamen, and apply a portion of the vast sums they will save to the education of the rising generation of Greeks abroad and at home, and to the encouragement of whatever will tend to direct the talent and genius of the young people most speedily into the course which will entitle Greece to rank amongst the civilized nations of Europe. Whether this advice shall be listened to or

not, I am satisfied that my opinion is correct, and that a multitude of foreign troops, in the pay of rival foreign nations, would contribute less to the objects these nations profess to have in view than a much smaller force under your own authority, more especially when it is considered that these troops could in no way interfere with the internal arrangement and police of the country, unless by usurping, or at least superseding the authority which ought to be exclusively vested in your excellency as chief of the Greek Government. Besides, knowing, as I do, the jealous character of your countrymen, the facility with which they listen to surmises and reports, the diversity of interests amongst the rival chiefs, and the intrigues practised by base and worthless individuals, I have little doubt but that such mixture of troops of different nations would give rise to a state of anarchy more injurious to Greece than that which at present exists. Whether such anarchy might be prevented by one nation alone taking upon itself the internal arrangement of Greece seems doubtful; for, to enforce laws, however just and necessary, by troops in foreign pay, against the opinion and habits of a people who have no just notion of the reciprocal duties of civilized society, would be in their estimation to erect a military despotism, and would call forth resistance on their part even to the most salu-

tary changes. I have also recommended, as an additional security against a multitude of evils, an immediate demarkation of the boundaries of Greece, or, at least, an acknowledgment of your excellency as President. The outfit of two or three steam-vessels still unfinished is going on, and I shall find means to accomplish this object in a way that will render them equal if not superior in velocity to most of the steamboats in general use. But, as no pecuniary means could be obtained in England to procure seamen and purchase provisions, coals, and other necessaries, I came to Paris, in the hope that the Greek Committee might enable me to give orders regarding these arrangements, so indispensable to the navigating of these vessels to Greece. The Paris Committee, however, intimate that they have no funds; and the Chevalier Eynard assures me that the moneys collected by him are exhausted. I therefore await with anxiety your answer to the letter which I had the honour to address to you previous to my departure from Greece."

No answer came from Capodistrias. He sent a message to Lord Cochrane asking him to sell him the little *Unicorn*, which had conveyed him to England, but said nothing about his own return. Believing that the allied powers would do for him all that was necessary in naval resistance of Turkey, he was not

sorry to be deprived of an associate in the actual service of Greece as powerful as Lord Cochrane.

This Lord Cochrane began to suspect. "Everything is arranged regarding the engines for the two steamboats," he said in a letter to M. Eynard, on the 24th of March; "but circumstances do not enable me to accomplish more, especially without the sanction of the President, from whom I shall no doubt shortly hear on the subject;—unless, indeed, he shall be persuaded by the primates of the islands that he can do better without a regular naval force, or, at least, without me, which I know is the opinion of Konduriottes, and also of Mavromichales, the great licenser and patron of pirates, so loudly and justly complained of. I am very low, and do not feel at all well. I cannot free myself from the oppression of spirits occasioned by seeing everything in the lamentable state in which all must continue in Greece, unless some effectual steps are taken to put an end to the intrigues and rivalships headed by unprincipled chiefs and backed by their savage followers. Believe me, that there is nothing I will leave undone to serve the cause. But it is essential that more time shall not be wasted in endeavouring to accomplish objects of vital importance by inadequate means."

While Lord Cochrane was endeavouring to hasten

the arrangements for his return to Greece, he was annoyed by a letter forwarded to him by Sir Francis Burdett. The letter was from Andreas Luriottis, one of the two Greek deputies who had requested Lord Cochrane, two years and a half before, to enter the service of Greece, and who now claimed a restitution of the 37,000*l.* paid to him, on the plea that by leaving Greece he had broken his contract.

"Before writing to Sir Francis," said Lord Cochrane in the indignant letter which he addressed to this person on the 20th of April, "you ought to have informed yourself of facts and circumstances. You might have learnt that I continued to serve until the Greek Government had assumed to themselves the powers vested in me, as naval commander-in-chief, to regulate the distribution of armed vessels, and until they had covered the seas with piratical craft. You might have informed yourself that I remained at my post until the neutral admirals refused to hold communication with a Government which had so misconducted itself, and with which they considered it would have been disgraceful to correspond, even on subjects of a public nature. You might have informed yourself that I remained on board the *Hellas* until the temporary Government had sold and applied to other purposes the revenues of the islands allotted for the maintenance of the

regular naval service, and deprived me of the means to satisfy the claims of the officers and seamen; that I continued until the seamen had abandoned the frigate, plundered the fireships, and fitted out pirate vessels before my eyes—all which I had no power to punish or means to prevent. If you or others infer that my endeavours in the cause of Greece are to be judged by naval operations carried on against the enemy by open force, you are mistaken. It is essential that you hold in mind that there are no naval officers in Greece who are acquainted with the discipline of regular ships of war, that the seamen would submit to no restraint, that they would not enlist for more than one month, that they would do nothing without being paid in advance, nor continue to serve after the expiration of the short period for which they were so paid, that by this determination of the seamen the *Hellas* was detained for months in port or occupied in collecting amongst the islands paltry means to satisfy their demands, and that at last, when money was found, half the period of the seamen's engagement was consumed in proceeding even to the nearest point at which hostile operations could be carried on, whence it became necessary to return almost at the moment of our arrival. It is not for me to speak, except when I am attacked, of the services I have rendered both in my professional

capacity and otherwise. Those who were in Greece knew my exertions to reconcile the National Assemblies in April, 1827, to suppress the animosity amongst the chiefs and save the country from civil discord. They know that I doubled the national marine by captures from the enemy. They know that by desultory operations I paralysed the efforts of fleets we could not oppose. They know that the attack on Vasiladi and Lepanto, in September last, induced the Turkish and Egyptian fleets to follow to that quarter, in violation of the armistice, and that this act produced their rencontre and dispute with the British admiral, and ultimately led to the destruction of those fleets in the port of Navarino."

A few days after writing that letter, Lord Cochrane returned to London from Paris, where he had been staying for nearly two months, in frequent communication with the members of the Philhellenic Committees of that city and of other parts of the Continent. The growing dissatisfaction which the bad conduct of the Greeks had awakened in many of their best friends, and still more the silence of Capodistrias, prevented his doing all that he had hoped to do. He succeeded, however, in exciting some fresh interest, and found that one of the steamboats, at any rate, the *Mercury*, was at length in a fair way of completion, though this and its subsequent equip-

ment were only effected by an advance of two thousand pounds, which he himself made. This was the business which took him to London, where he was busily employed during May and the first few days of June. He then went back to Paris for nearly three months more, and made further efforts, though in vain, to procure the substantial assistance for Greece on which his heart was set. As soon as the *Mercury* was ready for sea, he directed that she should proceed to Marseilles, where she arrived on the 13th of September: on the 18th, determined to make the best use of her in his power, he again set sail for Greece.

He reached Poros on or near the last day of September. He found that the internal arrangements of Greece had wonderfully improved. Capodistrias during the last eight months had been ruling with an iron hand over all those districts which the previous conquests of the Turks and Egyptians had not taken out of his control, and all those conquests were just then being finally abrogated. The full effects of the battle of Navarino were now appearing. Ibrahim Pasha, having deported many of his troops to Alexandria, chiefly because there was not food enough to be found for them in the Morea, had refused to surrender his authority or to abandon any of the numerous fortresses of which he was master.

The President, with Sir Richard Church and the worn-out refuse of the so-called army for his only support, could do nothing to expel him; but he gladly accepted the proffered aid of France. In compliance with a protocol signed on the 19th of July, fourteen thousand soldiers, under General Maison, had landed at Petilidi, on the 30th of August, and within a week Ibrahim had been forced to sign a convention pledging himself to prompt evacuation of the peninsula. Half of the residue of his army quitted Navarino on the 16th of September; the rest was preparing to depart at the time of Lord Cochrane's arrival, and actually started on the 5th of October. The ensuing weeks were worthily employed by the French army in clearing out the pestilential garrisons and making it possible for wholesome rule to succeed to the seven weary years of strife.

Thus the primary work which Lord Cochrane had been engaged to do, and which he vainly strove to do under the miserable circumstances of his position, had been effected by others. The Ottoman fleets had been dispersed and destroyed, and, as far as they were concerned, Greece was free at last. There was work yet to be done, troublesome but most important work, in converting the disorderly and piratical vessels and crews which constituted the navy of

Greece into an efficient agent for protecting the State and extending its boundaries. This, in spite of all his previous annoyances, Lord Cochrane was prepared to do, if the Greeks were willing. But they did not will it. Capodistrias had laid his plans for governing Greece, and for their performance he had no need of a foreigner as wise and honest as Lord Cochrane. The plans were not altogether reprehensible. At starting they were perhaps the best that could be adopted. The new President—the President whom Lord Cochrane had nominated as the likeliest man to beat down the factions and override the jealousies that had hitherto wrought such grievous mischief to Greece—began by acting up to the anticipations which had induced his selection. Schooled in Italy and Russia, he practised both tortuous diplomacy and straightforward tyranny in attempting to turn divided Greece into a united nation, in which a hundred rival claimants for power should be made humble instruments of the authority of their one master. Thereby the State was enabled to assert its existence, and it was made possible for good government to be introduced. When, however, the time came for inaugurating that good government, Capodistrias sought to continue the method of rule which, if allowable at first, was no longer right or likely to succeed. Young Greece was to be kept in subjec-

tion for his own aggrandisement and for the aggrandisement of his few favourites and advisers. These favourites and advisers were the leaders of the old Phanariot party, Prince Mavrocordatos and his brother-in-law Mr. Trikoupes; men whose policy Lord Cochrane had opposeded on his first arrival in Greece, and who accordingly became even more inimical to himself than he was to their purposes and plans.

Therefore it was that, when Lord Cochrane returned to Greece in the autumn of 1828, he was coldly received and his offers of further service, though not openly rejected, were not accepted. Throughout ten weeks he was treated with contemptuous indifference, or formal compliments, the hollowness of which was transparent. On his arrival, the President found it difficult to grant him an interview. When that interview was granted, the only subject allowed to be discussed was the accuracy of the accounts that had been drawn up by Dr. Gosse as Commissary-General of the Fleet, during the nine months of the previous year in which Lord Cochrane had been in active service. Nearly two months were spent in tedious and vexatious examination of these accounts, and correspondence thereupon, ending, however, in the partial satisfaction which Lord Cochrane derived from the knowledge that, after the

most searching investigation, they were admitted to be correct in every particular.

More than once, during this waiting time, Lord Cochrane threatened to leave Greece immediately, without waiting for the settlement of the accounts. He was only induced to remain, and submit to the insults offered to him, by the consideration that his hasty departure might cause an indefinite postponement of this settlement, and so prove injurious to his subordinates if not to himself. This being done, however, he lost no time in resigning his office as First Admiral of Greece; and that measure was accompanied by a rare exhibition of generosity. "The direct and active interference of the great European powers having decided the glorious contest for the freedom of Greece," he said in a letter to Count Capodistrias, written at Poros, on the 26th of November, "and its independence being formally acknowledged by accredited agents from these powers, no means now present themselves to me whereby I can professionally promote the interests of this hitherto oppressed people. I beg, therefore, that I may be permitted as an individual to alleviate their burdens by presenting the State with my share as Admiral of the corvette *Hydra*, and schooner-of-war *Athenian*, captured from the enemy; and further by absolving the State from any and every obligation

whereby the sum of 20,000*l.* was to be paid to me on the acknowledgment of the independence of this country. If your excellency shall be pleased, conjointly with the National Assembly, to appropriate any part of the said amount to the relief of the seamen wounded, and of the families of those who have fallen during the contest, it will be a high gratification to my feelings, and I hope will be admitted as a testimony of my satisfaction at the introduction of useful institutions, and of the pleasure I experience at the rapid advancement towards order which has taken place even during the short period of your excellency's presidency. I have only to add that, if at any future time your excellency shall deem my services useful, I shall be delighted at an opportunity to prove my zeal for the welfare of Greece, more fully than circumstances have heretofore permitted."

The President's reply, dated the 4th of December, was complimentary: "The Government of Greece," he said, "thanks you, my lord, for the services you have rendered, and for the new proof of your interest and your benevolence which you have shown in your letter of the 26th of November. As you observe, Greece having been taken under the protection of the great Powers of Europe, the Provisional Government can engage in no warlike operation worthy of your talents

and your station. It regrets, therefore, that it cannot offer you an opportunity of giving further proof of the noble and generous sentiments which animate you in favour of Greece. The Government will make it its duty to convey to the National Congress your offer to cede your rights in the corvette *Hydra* and the schooner *Athenian*, and in the 20,000*l.* which Greece was to pay you on the acknowledgment of her independence. It doubts not that the Congress will value at its true worth all the nation's debt to you, and that it will adopt the measures which you propose for succouring the families of the Greek seamen who have fallen in the war. The future of Greece is in the hands of God and of the Allied Powers. You have taken part in her restoration, and she will reckon you, with sentiments of profound gratitude, among her first and generous defenders."

A day had not passed, however, before Lord Cochrane had fresh proof of the worthlessness of that pretended gratitude. Information having reached Messrs. J. and S. Ricardo, the contractors for the Greek loan of 1825, that the new Government contemplated repudiating the debt, they had written to Lord Cochrane, begging him to bring the matter before Capodistrias, and represent to him the injustice to the stock-holders and the discredit to Greece that would result from such an act. Lord Cochrane,

accordingly, had an interview with the President and his two chief advisers on the 5th of December, when this subject was discussed, and, though the repudiation was only threatened, attempts were made to justify it on the plea that the 2,000,000*l.* forming the loan had nearly all been squandered in England and America, much having disappeared in unexplained ways, the rest having been absorbed in ship-building and engine-making, from which Greece had derived no benefit. Both in the personal interview and in a long letter which he addressed to the President on the following day, Lord Cochrane indignantly resented the proposed repudiation. He admitted that there had been gross mismanagement, but showed that the chief blame for this attached to the Greek deputies, Orlando and Luriottis, who had been sent to England to raise the money, and to see that it was properly expended, but who, as was well known, had sought only their own advantage and enjoyment, and, pilfering themselves, had allowed others to pilfer without restraint. He urged that the innocent holders of the Greek stock ought not to suffer on this account, and showed also, that, if there had been great abuse of the loan, it had enabled the Greeks to tide over their worst time of trouble. "Your excellency must be aware," he wrote, "that there was no war-ship belonging to the State which was

not bought, taken, or obtained by the aid of this loan, and that all the guns, mortars, powder, and other military stores which served to maintain the liberties of Greece during these later years were chiefly procured by help of this same fund. It enabled you to carry on the war until independence was secured by the intervention of the Allied Powers."

The debt was not repudiated; but Lord Cochrane's arguments for its acknowledgment gave an opportunity for exhibition of the long-smothered jealousy with which he was regarded by the counsellors of Capodistrias, if not by Capodistrias himself. The exhibition certainly was contemptible. As Lord Cochrane was about to leave Greece—and, indeed, eager to do so—the spite could only be shown in the arrangements made for his departure.

Having transferred the *Mercury*, which brought him out, to the President, Lord Cochrane had to ask for a vessel to take him from Egina, where he was then staying, to the Ionian Islands, or, if he could not there find suitable conveyance, to Toulon or Marseilles. The brig *Proserpine* was grudgingly placed at his disposal. "I pray you, my lord," wrote Mavrocordatos, on the 8th of December, "if you are obliged to take her to Toulon or Marseilles, not to detain her at Navarino or Zante, but to enable her

to return with as little delay as possible to her work on the shores of Western Greece." Lord Cochrane accordingly embarked in this vessel on the 10th. No sooner was he on board, however, than he found himself treated with studied rudeness by her captain, Manoli Bouti, "exposed," as he said, "to privations and insults that would not be allowed in the conveyance of convicts." He had to put in at Poros on the same evening, and thence address a complaint to the Government, then lodged in that island. Four days passed before he received a written answer to his letter, and then it conveyed nothing but a formal intimation that another captain would be appointed in lieu of the obnoxious officer.

Many personal communications, however, had passed in the interval, by which was confirmed the suspicion formed by Lord Cochrane from the first, that the captain's misconduct had been dictated by his superiors, and that it had been a preconceived plan to try and send the First Admiral of Greece—for both title and functions still belonged to him—from her shores with every possible degradation. He naturally resented this indignity. He claimed that, while he remained in Greece, and until his office of First Admiral was abrogated, he should be treated with the respect due to his rank. All he asked, he urged, was that he might be allowed to leave Greece at once;

but to leave it with such show of honour from the people whom he had done his best to serve, as would free him from insult and the Government from disgrace. "I assure your excellency," he wrote to the President, "that I regret the occurrence of any circumstance that occasions uneasiness to you; but I believe that, on reflection, you will clearly perceive that all which has occurred has been the work of others, whose acts I could neither control nor foresee. I waive my right to insist at present on any explicit recognition of my authority, and, though there is ample justification for my seeking more than I desire, all that I demand of your excellency is, for the sake of Greece, not to suffer, not to sanction your ministers in an endeavour to force me on to public explanations, by persevering in the scandalous line of conduct which they pursue. Surely your excellency cannot be aware of the importance which naval men attach to the continuance of the insignia of office, whilst actually embarked within the limits of their station, or you would not for an instant tolerate the attempt made to degrade me in the estimation of the high authorities and numerous officers here present in the port of Poros. I respectfully await your excellency's official commands and warrant to strike my flag; not founded on reasonings or on assumptions, which may prove fallacious or incorrect; but dictated in explicit

terms, such as an officer can, such as he ought to obey."

That Lord Cochrane was not fighting with a shadow, appears from a letter addressed to Dr. Gosse, on the 15th of December, by Count Heyden, then commanding the *Azoff*, as representative of Russia in the bay of Poros. "As the affairs of etiquette are delicate," he said, "I beg that you will inform me whether his lordship is still serving as First Admiral of Greece, or whether he has received his *congé*. If he is still in her service and employ, I shall rejoice to render him all the honours due to his rank. In the other case, I will pay him all the honours, except the salute of cannon. I beg that you will favour me with an answer, in order that I may show his lordship all the honour that is due to him."

Dr. Gosse's answer, though longer than Admiral Heyden expected, claims to be here quoted, as it furnished an important tribute to Lord Cochrane's worth, and was all the more valuable in that the Russian officer, glad to do all in his power to render homage to a man whom the Greek Government was now treating with childish insolence, made it his own by publishing it in the naval archives of Russia. "Lord Cochrane," wrote Dr. Gosse, "having arrived in Greece in March 1827, was, in the National Assembly at Troezene, elected First Admiral and Com-

mander-in-Chief of the Naval Forces of Greece, with independent and unlimited powers. Subsequently, and after the election of Count Capodistrias as President, the Assembly decided that the admiral should be under the authority of the Government until the arrival of the President. During the year 1827, Lord Cochrane fulfilled his duties with all the zeal, all the accuracy, and all the talent for which he is renowned; but he found it impossible to achieve anything of importance, isolated as he was, without sufficient funds, and without support from others, except that of the Philhellenic Committees, and without the co-operation of the Greeks themselves. At length, having pledged himself not to interfere in internal politics, he considered his presence in Greece useless until a firm Government could be organized, and deemed that he could render best service to the nation by advocating its interests in Western Europe. He departed early in January, after during two months vainly awaiting the arrival of Count Capodistrias, whom he informed of his expedition, and asked for instructions. He returned to France and England, used all the means in his power to obtain fresh aid for Greece, fitted out one of the steamboats that were being prepared in London, took steps for the completion of the other two, and, after writing a second letter to the President—which, like the first one, received no answer—

returned to Greece, resolved to devote himself to her cause. He was received with coldness and indifference; neither lodging, nor provisions, nor employment were offered to him. He asked that his accounts might be examined; ignorant or evil-minded commissioners were entrusted with their investigation, and the Government only took it in hand very tardily. Objections and disputes, difficulties and contradictions, accumulated, and it was only after a delay of sixty days that his accounts were publicly and officially declared to be correct. All that while he remained like a private person on board his steamboat, manned only by six sailors. In all the audiences that he had with the President, he asked for instructions as to the position and work that he should assume; but he could never receive any definite answer. During one interview which he had with Prince Mavrocordatos on board the *Mercury*, in the port of Poros, on the 1st of December, the anniversary of the coronation of the Emperor of Russia, he announced his intention of hoisting his flag on board one of the national vessels as a public compliment to that sovereign, and asked M. Mavrocordatos to inform the President of that intention; but he received no answer. He had during this period received numerous letters from the Government addressed to him as First Admiral and Commander-in-Chief of the Naval Forces of Greece.

He afterwards went to Egina with Messrs. Trikoupes and Mavrocordatos, to receive a part of the money due to him, and to hand over to the Commission of Marine the steamboat *Mercury*. That done, he was embarked in a national vessel, a miserable brig which had been seized as contraband, badly repaired, which had been sent to convey him to Navarino, Zante, Toulon, or Marseilles. This vessel was under the orders of a Hydriot brulotteer, an ignorant and coarse man, who, long before, at the expedition against Alexandria, had acted in direct violation of the admiral's orders; and the crew was on a par with the captain. Lord Cochrane was insolently received by these people. No place of safety was found for his baggage and his money; no food was provided even for the voyage from Egina to Poros, where Lord Cochrane wished to take leave of the President. At Poros the captain repeated his insults. Lord Cochrane requested the President to dismiss him, but received no answer. M. Trikoupes even came on board and declared that the captain should continue his voyage and proceed to his destination. Lord Cochrane then said that he would be master on board a vessel from whose mast floated his admiral's flag, and that he would yield to nothing but the written orders of the President, in order, as he said, that he might protect himself from the insolence of

servants of the Government who sought to annoy him by their exhibition of paltry jealousy, or to force him into a quarrel with the President. The day before yesterday, in the afternoon, he had an interview with the President, and, Messrs. Trikoupes and Mavrocordatos being present, he openly pointed out to him the intrigues of these officials and the dangers of the course in which they were leading him. Warmly, and with the boldness of a good conscience, he exposed their policy and expressed his views upon the organization of the Greek navy. He then repeated his wish to depart as soon as possible, although he declared himself willing at any future time to serve Greece if she had need of him. He also announced that he would at once take down his flag of authority if the President officially and directly required it, but that, if any charges were brought against him, he should be compelled to remain in Greece until he had exculpated himself before the nation and obtained the punishment of the unworthy servants of the President, for whom personally he declared that he had a profound respect, while he commiserated his difficult and painful position. In this interview Lord Cochrane appeared to me to have a great advantage over his antagonists. Yesterday the admiral's flag was still floating. In the evening the President wrote him a letter in

vague terms and contributing nothing to the end he had in view. This morning Lord Cochrane, in his reply, has again asked for authority to lower his flag, if that is the will of the President; but no orders have been received. This precise statement of facts which have come under my own knowledge will, I think, make it easy for your excellency to arrive at conclusions comporting with the laws of etiquette."

"I have read your letter with pleasure and with pain," wrote Admiral Heyden in answer on the same day; "for I am certain that Lord Cochrane must have suffered greatly from the treatment to which he has been exposed. In proof of my esteem I beg that he will send back to their kennels these miserable causes of his annoyance, and proceed to Malta, or to Zante if he wishes, in one of my corvettes, taking with him as large a suite as he likes. It cannot be too numerous. As regards his salute, I shall receive him with the honours due to his rank and with musical honours; and at his departure I will man the yards; but the salute of guns I cannot give him, as he is not in naval authority. Vice-Admiral Miaoulis never received from me the honours which I offer to Lord Cochrane. I did not man the yards and did not give him a salute. I hope I shall have the pleasure of seeing his lordship, and that I can

provide him a passage more agreeable than that proposed for him by Greece."

Not content with sending that friendly message to Lord Cochrane, Admiral Heyden took prompt occasion to reprove Capodistrias for his unworthy conduct. Capodistrias thereupon used the influence of Dr. Gosse in bringing about at any rate a formal reconciliation between himself and Lord Cochrane, the result of which was that the latter received the official discharge that he desired, and even an offer to find him in another ship a better passage than he could have expected on board the *Proserpine*. Lord Cochrane, however, preferred to accept Admiral Heyden's more generous invitation. "It is gratifying," he said in a letter to Dr. Gosse on the 18th of December,* "that even the authority to which wicked

* Dr. Gosse had remained in Greece during Lord Cochrane's absence, and he continued to reside in Greece for a few months after his friend's final departure. He won for himself much gratitude, not only by his zealous work in war time, but by the skill and patience with which he sought to reduce the plague which raged in Greece in 1827 and 1828. Two proofs of the popularity which he fairly won are as follows. The first, dated the 17th of June, 1828, was signed by twenty-three leading inhabitants of Poros.

"Nous citoyens de Poros, reconnaissant dans la personne de M. le Docteur Louis André Gosse, un homme animé du philhellénisme le plus sincère et doué de vertus éminentes, considérant son zèle ardent et infatigable pourtant en ce qui concerne le bien de la patrie et pour la cause sacrée de la Grèce et en particulier témoins des soins philanthropiques qu'il a prodigués aux indigens, persuadés d'autre part que ses qualités rares contribueront à l'amélioration de la morale du peuple Grec, et animés du désir d'attacher à notre Ile cette homme vertueux ; d'une voix unanime et

men refer in proof of the rectitude of evil deeds fails to sanction infamous conduct. Alas! if Capodistrias suffers—and he seems not inclined to oppose—I say, if he suffers the base intrigues of the Phanar to be introduced as the means of ruling a nation, Greece

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d'un accord commun concédons le droit de bourgeoisie au susdit M. L. A. Gosse, pour qu'il jouisse dorénavant du titre et des droits de citoyen Poriote indigène. En foi de quoi nous lui avons délivré la présente."

The other document was issued by President Capodistrias on the 23rd of February, 1829.

"La lettre que vous venez de m'adresser, datée du 21 Février, et les comptes qu'elle renferme, sont une nouvelle preuve du zèle et de l'extrême exactitude, par laquelle vous vous êtes toujours montré digne de la confiance des amis généreux de la Grèce.

"Je n'ai pas besoin de vous répéter combien la nation sait apprécier les services que vous lui avez rendus, et combien de reconnaissance je vous dois en particulier. C'est à mon instance que vous avez prolongé d'un an votre séjour en Grèce. Dans cet espace, et surtout dans l'été dernier, la peste et les maladies qui vinrent augmenter nos malheurs et nos souffrances, vous ont fourni l'occasion de co-opérer par un noble dénouement à l'accomplissement des mesures sanitaires qui à l'aide de la Providence ont conjuré les maux majeurs, dont la Patrie était menacée.

"Maintenant vous devez remplir des désirs qui honorent vos sentiments, vous allez retourner dans votre heureuse patrie, auprès de votre mère. Mes vœux vous y accompagneront, je vous souhaite toute sorte de bonheur. La Grèce ne peut dans ce moment vous exprimer d'autre manière sa reconnaissance, mais un jour viendra, je l'espère, dans lequel elle le pourra et son Gouvernement s'empressera alors d'acquitter sa dette envers vous, ainsi qu'envers les autres étrangers, qui sincèrement et généreusement ont servi sa cause sacrée.

"Lorsque vos affaires et vos intérêts le permettront, vous vous occuperez toujours du bien de la Grèce; vous lui serez toujours utile partout où vous vous trouverez; mais si vous voulez lui être utile plus directement, revenez encore au milieu d'un peuple qui vous connaît et qui vous aime, et son gouvernement se hâtera de vous mettre à même de lui rendre encore de grands services.

"Recevez en attendant l'expression de ces sentiments, avec l'assurance de la considération le plus distinguée."

must fall back, if not into a darker state, yet into a worse condition, inasmuch as suspended anarchy is preferable to civil war."

Those prognostications proved correct. Capodistrias, allowing others to direct him in ways of bad government, entered on a policy which very soon led to his assassination—to be followed by the milder rule of King Otho.

On the 20th of December Lord Cochrane left Poros in the Russian corvette *Grimachi*, honourably placed at his disposal by Admiral Heyden, and proceeded to Malta. There he was worthily received by the British admiral, Sir Pulteney Malcolm, who offered him immediate conveyance to Naples in the *Racer*, or, in a week's time, a passage direct to Marseilles in the *Etna*. Believing that thus he would save time, he chose the former alternative. From Naples, however, he found it impossible to proceed to Marseilles, and he was obliged, on the 29th of January, to embark in an English merchant vessel to Leghorn. Eleven days were spent in the short voyage, and on reaching Leghorn he had to submit to fifteen days' quarantine before being allowed to proceed to Paris, there to rejoin his family. The whole journey occupied nearly ten weeks.

From Leghorn he wrote on the 15th of February

to Chevalier Eynard respecting Greece and her still unfortunate condition. "Civilization and internal order," he said, "can make no steady progress in Greece unless the Government can be supported otherwise than by the present bands of undisciplined, ignorant, and lawless savages. Under existing circumstances, Greeks who have attained the age of maturity are incapable of military organization. You have long known my opinion as to the necessity of sending foreign troops to Greece to maintain order. You know that I preferred Swiss or Bavarian soldiers to those of the great pacificating powers, because the latter cannot, with propriety, interfere in matters of police, whilst paid by foreign countries. It is now, however, too late to send *small* military establishments, such as would have sufficed on the arrival of Capodistrias, because *now* they would be considered as oppressors; *then* they would have been received as allies and friends. The alternatives that may be pursued in the conduct relative to Greece now are, to let the Revolution work itself out, as in South America, or to leave six regiments in the country until the young men who are abroad shall be educated and the rising generation at home shall be somewhat civilized. It is of no use to attempt to do good by half measures under the present circumstances of Greece. Kolokotrones is

ready, on the spot, to take possession of Patras the moment it is evacuated. Petro-Bey, who has been prosecuted in the Court of Admiralty for piracy, is prepared to avenge himself by taking authority in Maina. Konduriottes, Zaimes, and all the other chiefs, anxiously await the meeting of the Assembly, which they hail as the final hour of the President's authority. Capodistrias's ministers, too, who are no fools, but, on the contrary, cunning men, undoubtedly have similar views, for they have taken every means to discredit, disgust, and drive away every foreigner who, by his conduct, counsel, or friendly intimation, could avert the evil. Thus things are fast tending towards a discreditable close of the President's administration."

"Thank God," wrote Lord Cochrane three months later, on the 17th of May, to Dr. Gosse, who, in the interval, had also left Greece, "we are both clear of a country in which there is no hope of amelioration for half a century to come; unless, indeed, immigration shall take place to a great extent, under some king, or competent ruler, appointed and supported by the Governments of the mediating powers. The mental fever I contracted in Greece has not yet subsided, nor will it probably for some months to come."

Lord Cochrane might well be suffering from a mental fever. Nearly four years of his life had been spent in efforts to serve Greece, and with very poor

result. To himself the issue had been wholly unfortunate; even the pecuniary recompense to which he was entitled having been so reduced as not to meet the expenses to which he had been put, partly through his generous surrender of the 20,000*l.* which he was to receive on completion of the work, partly through the depreciation of the Greek stock in which, out of sympathy for the cause, he had invested the 37,000*l.* paid to him on his engagement.

And to Greece the issues had been far less beneficial than he had hoped. The tedious and wanton delays to which he had been subjected at starting, whereby that starting was prevented for a year and a half, had hindered his arrival in Greece till it was too late for him to do much of the work that he had planned. The want of money, and, still more, the want of patriotism, courage, and even common honesty on the part of nearly all the leaders with whom he was to co-operate, and the officers and crews whom he was to command, had caused his ten months' active service in Greece to comprise little more than a series of bold projects, and projects which, if he had been aided by brave men, would have been as easy as they were bold, in which he received none of the support that was necessary, and which accordingly all his energy and genius could not make successful. When, after his visit to Eng-

land and France, he returned to Greece, eager and able to render invaluable assistance in the organization of the navy, he was treated only with neglect and insolence, from which at last he was enabled to escape through the generous sympathy of a Russian admiral.

Much, however, he had done for Greece. To his persistent entreaties were due all the meagre displays of patriotism by which the Government of the country was maintained and Capodistrias accepted as President, and all the feeble efforts by which the war was carried on and the triumph of the Porte was averted until the direct interference of the Allied Powers. That interference had been in great measure induced by the report that he had entered the service of Greece, so that to him was due not a little of the benefit that accrued from the whole course of diplomacy by which her independence was secured; and the independence was made more prompt and complete than could have been expected by the fortunate circumstance of his having occasioned the collision between the forces of Turkey and those of the Allied Powers which issued in the Battle of Navarino. Much more he would have achieved had his arguments been listened to and his plans supported. His failures no less than his successes bespeak his worth.

CHAPTER XXIII.

A RECAPITULATION OF LORD COCHRANE'S NAVAL SERVICES.—HIS EFFORTS TO OBTAIN RESTITUTION OF THE RANK TAKEN FROM HIM AFTER THE STOCK EXCHANGE TRIAL.—HIS PETITION TO THE DUKE OF CLARENCE.—ITS REJECTION BY THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON'S CABINET.—LORD COCHRANE'S OCCUPATIONS AFTER THE CLOSE OF HIS GREEK SERVICE.—HIS RETURN TO ENGLAND.—HIS MEMORIAL TO WILLIAM IV.—ITS TARDY CONSIDERATION BY EARL GREY'S CABINET.—ITS PROMOTERS AND OPPONENTS.—LORD COCHRANE'S ACCESSION TO THE PEERAGE AS TENTH EARL OF DUNDONALD.—HIS INTERVIEW WITH THE KING.—THE COUNTESS OF DUNDONALD'S EFFORTS IN AID OF HER HUSBAND'S MEMORIAL.—THEIR ULTIMATE SUCCESS.—THE EARL OF DUNDONALD'S "FREE PARDON," AND RESTORATION TO NAVAL RANK.

[1828—1832.]

LORD COCHRANE'S retirement from the service of Greece brought to a close his career as a fighting seaman. With one brief exception, occurring twenty years later, when he commanded the British squadron in the North American and West Indian waters, but when there was no warfare to be done the rest of his life, comprising thirty years of ripe manhood and vigorous old age, was passed without employment in the profession which was dear to him, and in which

he had shown himself to be possessed of talents rarely equalled and certainly never surpassed.

He entered that profession at the age of seventeen. In 1800, when he was twenty-four, he was promoted to the command of the *Speedy*. With that crazy little sloop, no larger than a coasting brig, he captured a large French privateer on the 10th of May, and on the 14th he recaptured two English vessels that had been seized by the enemy. On the 16th of June he took another French vessel, and on the 22nd another, with a prize which she had just obtained. On the 29th, he secured a large Spanish privateer, in spite of five gunboats which fought in her defence. On the 19th of July he captured another French privateer and rescued her prize; on the 27th he sunk another; and on the 31st he put another to flight and took possession of the prize which she had in tow. On the 22nd of September, he seized another of the enemy's vessels. On the 15th of December he wrecked one French war-ship and captured another, one of three which came to her assistance; and on the 24th, being attacked by two Spanish privateers, he took one of them. On the 16th of January, 1801, he chased two vessels, and seized one, and on the 22nd, two of the enemy's craft, one French and the other Spanish, struck to him. On the 24th of February a French brig fell into his

hands. The same fate was shared by another vessel on the 11th of April, by another on the 13th, and by two others on the 15th. He captured a Spanish tartan and a Spanish privateer on the 4th of May; and on the 13th occurred his celebrated victory over the *Gamo*—carrying four times the tonnage, six times the number of men, and seven times the weight of shot possessed by the *Speedy*—which was soon followed by the taking of two other Spanish privateers heavily armed. On the 9th of June, the *Speedy* and another little vessel had a nine hours' fight, first with a Spanish zebec and three gunboats, and afterwards with a felucco and two more gunboats which came to their aid, which were only allowed to escape when the English ammunition was nearly exhausted, the *Speedy* having discharged fourteen hundred shot. On the 3rd of July, the pigmy vessel, after hard fighting, had to surrender to three French line-of-battle ships. It was on that occasion that their senior officer, Captain Pallière, declined to accept the sword of "an officer," as he said, "who had for so many hours struggled against impossibility." In his thirteen months' cruise Lord Cochrane had with his little sloop of fourteen 4-pounders, and a crew of fifty-four officers and men, taken and retaken fifty vessels, a hundred and twenty-two guns, and five hundred and thirty-four prisoners.

His next ship, the *Arab*, was made to serve during fourteen months in seas in which there was no work to be done; but for the *Pallas*, a fine frigate of thirty-two guns, he was allowed to find memorable employment. He was sent to the Azores, with orders to limit his cruise to a month. He captured one large Spanish vessel on the 6th of February, 1805, a second on the 13th, a third on the 15th, a fourth on the 16th. Forced after that to be idle, as far as prize-taking was concerned, for more than a year, he seized two French vessels on the 27th of March, 1806, and another a few days later. On the 6th of April he captured the *Tapageuse*, and on the 7th he chased three other corvettes till they were driven on shore by their crews and wrecked. He took another prize on the 14th. On the 14th of May, the *Pallas* had her famous engagement with the French frigate *Minerve* and three brigs, the *Lynx*, the *Sylph*, and the *Palinure*, carrying eighty-eight guns in all, wherein she was so disabled that she was forced to return to Portsmouth to be refitted.

The *Impérieuse* being assigned to him in August, 1806, Lord Cochrane took two prizes on the 19th of December, and a third on the 31st. He was then ordered home, and there detained till the autumn of 1807. On the 14th of November, being again in the Mediterranean, he captured a Maltese pirate-ship,

and soon afterwards he seized some other vessels. Being ordered to scour the French coast during the summer of 1808, he took numerous prizes on the sea and effected yet more important work on land. "With varying opposition but with unvaried success," he wrote in his concise report to Lord Collingwood on the 28th of September, "the newly-constructed semaphoric telegraphs—which are of the utmost consequence to the safety of the numerous convoys that pass along the coast of France—at Bourdigne, La Pinede, St. Maguire, Frontignan, Canet, and Fay, have been blown up and completely demolished, together with their telegraph houses, fourteen barracks of *gens d'armes*, one battery, and the strong tower on the Lake of Frontignan." The list of casualties was "None killed, none wounded, one singed, in blowing up the battery." That work was followed by more of the same nature, a famous episode in which was Lord Cochrane's occupation of the Castle of Trinidad. "The zeal and energy with which he has maintained that fortress," wrote Lord Collingwood, "excite the highest admiration. His resources for every exigency have no end."

The splendid exploit with the fireships in Basque Roads followed in 1809, and with that Lord Cochrane's services to England as a seaman were brought to a conclusion. Official persecution kept him in idleness

during the remaining period of war with France, and he was in the end driven to seek relief from oppression at home, and exercise for his talents, by devoting himself to the cause of freedom in Chili, Peru, Brazil, and Greece. His unparalleled successes on both sides of the South American continent, and the circumstances of his partial failure in Greece, have been sufficiently detailed in previous chapters.

All through that time of virtual expatriation, his dearest hope had been that England would, as far as possible, retrieve the cruel wrong that had been done to him. Full redress was impossible. The heavy cloud that had been cast over so many years of his most energetic manhood could not be removed by any tardy act of justice; but that tardy justice could at any rate be done to him, and for this he strove with unabated zeal.

To this end he was partly occupied during his temporary absence from Greece in 1828. On the 4th of June he addressed a memorial to the Duke of Clarence, then Lord High Admiral, who just two years afterwards was to become King of England. This memorial, eloquent in its simplicity and earnestness, the prelude to many others that were to be presented in later years, claims to be here quoted in full. "To his Royal Highness the Lord High Ad-

miral," it ran, "the memorial of Lord Cochrane humbly showeth;—That for fourteen years your memorialist has suffered, among many injuries and privations, the loss of his situation and rank as post-captain in his Majesty's navy, in consequence of a verdict pronouncing your memorialist guilty of an offence of which he was entirely and absolutely innocent;—That during the whole course of your memorialist's life, up to the day on which he was charged with the crime of conspiring with others to raise false reports for the purpose of fraudulently effecting a rise in the price of the public funds, the character and conduct of your memorialist were without reproach; and, numerous as have been the transactions in which your memorialist has subsequently engaged, he has, amid them all, uniformly preserved, though not an unassailed, yet an unshaken and unsullied character;—That your memorialist has never ceased, and never can cease to assert his absolute innocence of the crime of which he was pronounced guilty. He asserts it now, most solemnly, as in the presence of Almighty God, and certain he is, if every doubt be not dissipated in this world, that when summoned to enter more immediately into that Awful and Infinite Presence, he shall not fail, with his last breath, most solemnly to assert his innocence;—That it was your memorialist's conscious-

ness of innocence that contributed, perhaps more than any other cause, to produce his conviction; because it rendered him confident, and much less careful in making the necessary preparations for his defence than he ought to have been, or than he would have been, if guilty; while, on the other hand, there existed the utmost zeal, industry, and skill in the conduct of the prosecution;—That your memorialist did all that was possible to procure a revision of his case; but, as he had laboured under the disadvantage of being included in, and tried under, the same indictment with some who had probably no reason to complain of the result, as well as the still greater disadvantage of having his defence blended with theirs, so was he denied a new trial for the same reason; it being a rule of Court that a new trial should not be allowed to any individual tried for conspiracy unless all the parties should appear in Court to join in the application; which, in the case of your memorialist, could not possibly be, some of the parties having quitted the country on the verdict being pronounced against them;—That your memorialist has never been able to obtain a re-investigation of his extraordinary case, nor to obtain redress in any way; but now that your Royal Highness is Lord High Admiral, and has, among other illustrious acts, distinguished yourself in that capacity by doing

justice to meritorious officers, your memorialist feels that he has everything to hope from the magnanimity of your Royal Highness;—That it is indeed certain that nothing can be more repugnant to the feelings of your Royal Highness than that an individual who zealously devoted himself to the naval service of his king and country, as your Royal Highness knows your memorialist to have done, should be for ever cut off from the service without the most unquestionable certainty of the rectitude of so severe an infliction. So far, therefore, as depends on your Royal Highness, your memorialist cannot but confidently entertain the hope that he shall not be doomed to remain all his life long the victim of a verdict of which he has not only never ceased to complain, but which he knows that he has proved to be unfounded, to the satisfaction of those who have examined as well what was advanced against him at the trial as what he has since adduced in his own justification. Your memorialist, therefore, is encouraged most respectfully to solicit your Royal Highness to represent his case—a case of peculiar and unprecedented hardship—to his most Sacred Majesty, and to advocate his cause. And if, happily for your memorialist, his most Sacred Majesty, recognising the innocence of your memorialist, and taking his long-protracted and unmerited sufferings into his

gracious consideration, should, of his most gracious pleasure, vouchsafe to reinstate your memorialist in that rank and station in his Royal Navy which he previously held, your memorialist will ever maintain the deepest and most grateful sense of his duty to his most Sacred Majesty and to your Royal Highness, and will never cease to testify his gratitude by all the means in his power."

That document was presented by Sir Robert Preston to the Duke of Clarence, who promised to use every endeavour to obtain a reconsideration of Lord Cochrane's case. He was unsuccessful. "Dear Sir," he wrote to Sir Robert Preston on the 14th of June, "immediately on the receipt of the memorial you brought from Lord Cochrane, I sent it to the Duke of Wellington, with a request it might be considered by his Majesty's confidential servants, and last evening I had a communication from his Grace to state that the King's Cabinet cannot comply with the prayer of the memorial. I ever remain, dear Sir, yours sincerely, WILLIAM."

The harsh news of this failure was sent to Paris, whither Lord Cochrane had gone in furtherance of his efforts for the assistance of Greece.

To Paris he returned, as we have seen, after his final departure from Greece, and there he resided with his family for about six months. He paid a

brief visit to England in September, 1829; but, seeing no immediate prospect of gaining the restitution of his naval rank, and finding that idle life at home was especially irksome to him, he soon went back to the Continent. The serious illness of Lady Cochrane induced him to pass the winter in Italy, where by the same cause he was detained for several months. He was in England again in the autumn of 1830.

One motive for his return was the accession of the Duke of Clarence to the throne as King William IV. The new sovereign's often-expressed sympathy for him, induced him to hope that now he had a better chance of obtaining the justice that had been so long withheld. The change of sovereigns, however, was of small avail while the ministers who had summarily rejected his former memorial continued to have the direction of affairs. "To petition or memorialize the King whilst his present ministers remain in office," he said in a letter written on the 10th of September, "would be to debase myself in my own estimation, and, I think, in that of every man of sense and feeling." "I cannot petition again," he said in another letter; "though I am assured from high authority it would be attended to. Sir Robert Wilson and others have obtained favour, but I, who protested against the forging

of charts and public waste of money, have had no mercy shown!" Lord Cochrane ascertained, about this time, that his memorial of 1828, though sent by the Duke of Clarence for the consideration of King George IV., had never reached his Majesty, the Cabinet having preferred to dismiss it at once. He therefore had good reason for abstaining from further action until a more friendly ministry should be in power.

He had not long to wait. On the 16th of November, the Duke of Wellington's Cabinet resigned. In the Administration which succeeded Earl Grey was Premier, and Mr. Brougham, raised to the peerage, was Lord Chancellor. Lord Cochrane then lost no time in completing a "Review" of his case, which he had prepared for publication, and in getting ready some early copies of the volume to be presented to the King and his ministers.

The King's copy was forwarded through Lord Melbourne, the Home Secretary, on the 10th of December, accompanied by a brief petition. "Assured that the memorial which I laid before your Majesty when Lord High Admiral," wrote Lord Cochrane, "was honoured with your earnest consideration, and that your Majesty was graciously pleased to make an effort in my behalf, with the desire of restoring me to my station in the navy; assured, too, that, had

not the ministers of his late most gracious Majesty been opposed to the prayer of my memorial, I should then have been restored; and believing that no such obstacle to your Majesty's favour would be now interposed, I have every reason to hope that the auspicious moment is at length arrived when the redress which I have so long sought will be freely bestowed by my most gracious Sovereign. I beseech your Majesty to condescend to receive the accompanying review of my case, which, I trust, will prove to your Majesty that I am not unworthy of that act of your Majesty's favour which I humbly solicit. It is not because I have undergone a sentence heavier than the law pronounced, it is not because I have been deprived for sixteen years of the rank and honours which I acquired in the Royal Navy, nor is it because I am deserving of any consideration on account of services to my King and country, that I now presume to appeal to your Majesty,—though no one is more likely than your Majesty to feel for my sufferings, and no one more competent to appreciate my services,—but it is because I had no participation in, and no knowledge, not even the most indistinct or remote, of the crime under the imputation of which I have been so variously and so unceasingly punished. It is this alone which impels me to approach your Majesty, and this alone which enables me."

Other copies of the "Review" having been sent to the Cabinet Ministers, with letters urging its favourable consideration, Lord Cochrane, in nearly every case, received a friendly answer. "I need not say," wrote Earl Grey on the 12th of December, "that it would give me great satisfaction if it should be found possible to comply with the prayer of your petition. This opinion I expressed some years ago in a letter which, I believe, was communicated to you. To the sentiments expressed in that letter I refer, which, if I remember right, acquitted you of all blame, except such as might have been incurred by inadvertence and by having suffered yourself to be led by others into measures of the consequences of which you were not sufficiently aware."

More than a year was to be spent, however, in persevering effort before Lord Cochrane's claim for justice was acceded to. Objection was taken by some to the form in which his address to the King was worded. It was "a letter," they said, and not "a petition;" and Lord Cochrane was distressed at hearing, on the 18th, that the document had been given back by his Majesty to Lord Melbourne without any comment.

"If I have erred as to the form of my petition, which was in the shape of a most respectful and dutiful letter to his Majesty, or as to the channel

through which it should have been forwarded," said Lord Cochrane in a letter to Earl Grey, written on the 23rd of December, "I have erred in judgment only; and it would be hard indeed should redress not be accorded by reason of an informality in the mode of my application. I have since been advised that my petition ought to have been forwarded through the First Lord of the Admiralty, whom I have therefore solicited to present another petition, the same in effect, but more brief, and in the regular form. When his Majesty was Lord High Admiral he received a memorial from me by the hands of Sir Robert Preston, and though it had not the effect of procuring my restoration at that time, yet from the gracious manner in which, I am assured, it was received, I did flatter myself that his Majesty would have pleasure in the opportunity, which appeared to present itself when your lordship's Administration was formed, of originating a measure which all would consider gracious, and most, I hope, believe to be perfectly just. In reference to the letter, in answer to mine, with which your lordship honoured me on the 12th instant, which I cannot but perceive is written with a kindness of feeling which commands my best thanks, I beg only to state that any opinion of me in regard to the crime imputed to me that does not fully acquit me of all knowledge

thereof whatever does not do me justice. That crime was contrived and completed so entirely without my knowledge that I had not the most distant idea of its having been meditated until I read of its commission in the public prints." In a brief reply to that letter Earl Grey stated that, the petition having been presented to the King and being now under consideration, no more formal address need be sent in lieu of it.

Thus Lord Cochrane had only to await the result of his application, and he waited for sixteen months. During that interval many friends interceded on his behalf, especially Lord Durham and Lord Auckland, and from time to time his hopes were quickened by information that the subject was still being considered by his Majesty's ministers, who were anxious that right should be done.

But he was often disappointed. "The King," he said, in a letter written on the 1st of April, "has invited all the Knights of the Bath to dine with him on the 12th, which is the anniversary of the affair of Basque Roads, as well as that of Gambier's installation. If nothing is done on that day I shall not obtain justice during the life of William IV. Indeed, I understand that every effort has been made to influence the King to my prejudice."

"I was at an evening party at the Marquess of

Lansdowne's on Friday," wrote Lord Cochrane on the 25th of April, "and there I met the Lord Chancellor. [Brougham] who was very civil indeed, and told me they had a battle to fight for me, and hoped they would succeed. Since then the electors of the borough of Southwark have sent a deputation to beg me to stand; but hearing that Brougham's brother was also to be a candidate, I have declined opposing him. I had a double motive for this line of conduct, for, had I been returned to Parliament, I could not conscientiously have accepted a favour at the hands of the ministers of the Crown."

Service in the House of Commons was, soon after that, made impossible to Lord Cochrane. His father, Archibald, ninth Earl of Dundonald, died on the 1st of July, 1831. Lord Cochrane then ceased to be a commoner, and became in succession, when he was nearly fifty-six years old, Earl of Dundonald.

As Earl of Dundonald, however, he found it no easier to obtain an answer to his demand for justice than as Lord Cochrane. In September he heard that his opponents were making use of some Admiralty correspondence respecting his conduct in Chili, nearly ten years before, to throw fresh difficulties in his way. He at once applied to Sir James Graham, the First Lord of the Admiralty, for extracts from this correspondence of any parts requiring explana-

tion, in order that he might furnish the same. "I beg leave to state," wrote Sir James in reply, "that it is not usual for his Majesty's Government to produce, from the records of public offices, documents which do not appear to be required for any public purpose. I am therefore under the necessity of declining to comply with your lordship's request." "Is it not astonishing," said Lord Dundonald, in a letter to the Duke of Hamilton, "that Sir James Graham does not consider justice to an individual to be a public object?"

Tired out, at length, by the delays in the settlement of his case, Lord Dundonald wisely resolved to seek a personal interview with the King. With that object he went down to Brighton, and the interview was readily granted to him on Sunday, the 27th of November. He was graciously received, and the King listened attentively to his respectful claim for a fair investigation of the matter, and for permission to rebut any charges that might be brought against him respecting his conduct in connection with the Stock Exchange fraud, his Chilian service, or any other portion of his life that had been or could be complained of. His Majesty promised to see that the case was fairly looked into, and Lord Dundonald was not long in observing the good effects of his bold step.

"Lady Dundonald has seen Lord Grey, and he

has expressed his readiness to do all he can," he wrote from London on the 17th of December. "But I understand there is something in the way. Burdett assures me that he will bring the whole affair before Parliament if they do not do me justice."

Sir Francis Burdett, who, never flagging in his friendship, had rendered valuable assistance during these weary months, continued in the same course to the end; but it was not necessary for him to appeal to Parliament in this case. Yet its settlement was further delayed. "I am unwilling to trespass on your lordship's most valuable time," wrote Lord Dundonald to Earl Grey, on the 28th of January, 1832; "but as it is now two months since I had the honour of an audience of the King, and of presenting to his Majesty my humble memorial setting forth my claims to be heard in my defence in refutation of the accusations existing against me in the Admiralty, and praying that I might be furnished with copies of the accusatory documents, I can no longer refrain from entreating your lordship to relieve my mind from its present state of most painful suspense by making me acquainted with the decision of the Government. From my knowledge of your lordship's considerate feelings towards me, and of your desire, should it be found practicable and just, to restore me to my place in his Majesty's service, and

from that consciousness of my own integrity which has maintained me during so many years of adversity, I cannot but be sanguine, notwithstanding the delay, of an ultimately favourable result. But the period of suspense is not only one of great mental anxiety, but in other respects most injurious. It places me in a position worse than that which I was in under the former Administration, which at once decided to dismiss my complaint without consideration, and spared me that uncertainty which 'makes the heart sick.' While those ministers were in power my character sustained no injury from their refusal to do me justice. But under the Administration of your lordship, the public opinion must be that my case has received every consideration, and that the ascertained justice of the verdict against me is the bar to my restoration. This opinion already operates so much to my disadvantage and annoyance as to paralyze all my pursuits, and will shortly compel me, unless your lordship spares me that sacrifice, to quit a country of which I have never, by any act of my life, rendered myself unworthy, and in the bosom of which, unless called out again in her service, I would fain spend the remainder of my life in tranquillity."

That letter was delivered by the Countess of Dundonald, who at this time, as at all others, laboured

with rare energy and tact to lighten her husband's heavy load of suffering and to augment his scanty store of joy. "Lady Dundonald," he wrote on the 6th of February, "has had a long talk with Lord Grey on the subject of my affair, and it clearly appears that there are two individuals in the Cabinet who will not give in. It is now, however, determined that Lady Dundonald—I being out of town—shall go to the King with a very proper memorial on her part, praying that the stain on the family may be wiped away by a free pardon. It is supposed that this will succeed; because in that case the King can exercise his prerogative without other counsel than that of his Prime Minister, who is favourable."

That term "free pardon" was galling to Lord Dundonald. He knew that he had done nothing which needed forgiveness. It was justice, not pardon, that he sought. He had suffered so much, however, from official formalities, and his honest resentment of them, that he now reluctantly consented to accept the virtual acquittal which was the great object of his hopes and toils, though it might be couched in a phrase none the less distasteful to him because it was the phrase that from time immemorial had been used as a cloak for the withdrawal of official wrong.

His concession was successful. "The King," he was able to write on the 4th of March, "has at last promised to do that which the late Administration refused, and the present ministry had not the power or courage to accomplish. For this I am indebted to the zealous exertions of Lady Dundonald, who has been at Brighton, and has left Lord Grey and others no rest until her object was accomplished. Thus, you see, perseverance has done more than reason, right, and justice. The fact is that great folks neither read nor trouble themselves with judging from facts on subjects which do not immediately concern themselves. I have no doubt that the 'Review' has never been looked into by one of the ministers."

The "free pardon" was promised on the 28th of February, but it was not formally granted till five weeks afterwards. Lord Dundonald ascertained that one cause of the long delay in considering his case was the heat of party fight occasioned by the Reform Bill. The Government feared to show any kindness to a man whom the Tories had so long and so persistently reviled, lest thereby they should lose in the House of Commons a few wavering votes that were important. The Reform Bill passed the Lower House, for the second time, at the end of March.*

* "My dear Lord Durham," wrote the Earl of Dundonald, on the 15th of April, "allow me most sincerely to congratulate you on the attainment

Its final adoption being expected with less difficulty than arose, it was now easier to do justice to Lord Dundonald. "I was happy to hear your memorial to the King read in Council and referred to the Admiralty," the Earl of Durham wrote to him on the 16th of April. "I trust we may eventually have the means of doing an act of private as well as of public justice, and that I shall see you restored to that service of which you are the highest ornament. But you well know that you have had not only my best wishes, but my warmest exertions, for the attainment of that object."

The object was at last attained. At a Privy Council held on the 2nd of May, a "free pardon" was granted to the Earl of Dundonald. He was restored to his position in the Royal Navy, and, on the 8th, gazetted as a Rear-Admiral of the Fleet.

In that capacity he was presented to King William IV. at the levée held on the 9th of May; and

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of the great object which the present Administration has now, so honourably for themselves and so fortunately for the country, brought to a pass wherein no retrograde movement can take place, whatever may be the obstructions offered by the interested proprietors of borough influence, or by persons whose ideas of Government have been formed under the tuition of preceding Administrations. It is rare felicity for a nation to be governed by men having the liberality and justice which induce them to confer free institutions peacefully on the country; institutions which merit the gratitude of all who now exist, and will receive the unqualified applause of future generations. The page of history affords no parallel to the present event."

congratulations poured in from all quarters as soon as the good news was published. But he could not, even in the first moments of rejoicing, forget that the cause of congratulation was only a pardon for an offence which he had never committed, and for which he had been enduring heavy punishment during sixteen years of his life.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE INVENTIONS AND DISCOVERIES OF LORD DUNDONALD'S FATHER.—HIS OWN MECHANICAL CONTRIVANCES. — HIS LAMPS. — HIS ROTARY STEAM-ENGINE, HIS SCREW-PROPELLER, HIS CONDENSING-BOILER, AND HIS LINES OF SHIP-BUILDING.—THEIR TARDY DEVELOPMENT.—HIS CORRESPONDENCE UPON STEAM-SHIPPING WITH SIR JAMES GRAHAM, THE EARL OF MINTO, THE EARL OF HADDINGTON, AND THE EARL OF AUCKLAND.—THE PROGRESS OF HIS INVENTIONS.—THE "JANUS."—THE BENEFICIAL RESULTS OF HIS EXPERIMENTS.

[1833—1847.]

LORD DUNDONALD'S father, the ninth earl, had devoted the chief energies of his long life to scientific pursuits, which won for him, not profit, but well-earned fame, and which proved of immense benefit to his own and succeeding generations. By him was discovered the art of extracting tar from coal, and out of that discovery was developed, partly by him and partly by others, the manufacture of gas, first used for lighting his tar-works. The important chemical process of making alkali and crystals of soda was also introduced by him, whereby a great impetus was given to the manufacture of glass and to

many other important branches of industry. He discovered the present method of preparing alum, or sulphate of vitriol, and suggested its substitution for gum senegal, which has proved hardly less advantageous to the mechanical arts. In 1795, he published a treatise, the result of numerous and costly experiments, on the connection between agriculture and chemistry, which was almost the parent of all the later researches that have issued in beneficial plans for improving the soil and invigorating the growth of crops, and in various and important developments of scientific farming.

The tenth Earl of Dundonald inherited his father's mechanical and scientific genius. The lamp invented by him in 1814, which introduced the principle upon which all later lamps for burning oil, naphtha, and other combustibles have been constructed, has been already referred to. Many other inventions and discoveries occupied his leisure during the years in which he was allowed to follow his profession both in British and in foreign service;*

* It is interesting to note that the recent introduction among us of the Turkish bath was due to Lord Dundonald. "Having recovered," says Dr. Gosse, in his treatise "Du Bain Turc," p. 58, "from two attacks of intermitting fever, I visited the islands of the Archipelago until summoned to Nauplia by Admiral Cochrane, who was then on board the little steam-vessel *Mercury*. There the air of the gulf, and the marshy miasma, brought on another attack of fever, from which I feared a fatal issue. Lord Cochrane had the kindness to take me in his arms, and to place me in the current of steam, which caused me to perspire freely. My illness

and the fuller leisure forced upon him during the years following his return from Greece was chiefly devoted to further exercise of his inventive faculties.

To the wonderful invention known as his "secret war-plan" allusion will presently be made. His other most important mechanical pursuits had for their principal object the improvement of steam-engines and other appliances for steam-shipping. Almost his first reminiscence was of a visit in which, when he was seven or eight years old, he accompanied his father to Birmingham, there to meet with James Watt, and hear something of his memorable discovery. Apprehending in his youth the value of that discovery, he never wearied in his efforts to extend its usefulness. The *Rising Star*, built in 1818 under his directions, and those of his brother, Major Cochrane, for service in Chili, was the first steam-vessel that crossed the Atlantic, and it was an additional disappointment to him, amid all the misfortunes incident to his efforts to give adequate assistance to the Greeks in their war of independence, that the ill-fated steamers which were to be his chief instruments therein, failed through the

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disappeared as by enchantment." A similar service was rendered by Lord Dundonald to Mr. David Urquhart, whose attention was thus called to the advantages of the Turkish bath, and who became its great advocate.

indolence and incompetence of those to whom their construction was assigned.

It is not necessary here to detail the studies and experiments by which he afterwards sought to introduce a better steam-engine, for locomotive purposes, than was then, or is even now, in general use. His plan—not a new one, though it had never before been made available in practice—was to substitute for the ordinary reciprocating engine a machine which should at once produce a circular motion. "Of the many rotary engines heretofore offered to the notice of the world," he wrote, in 1833, "none have stood the test of practical use and experience. The cause of this uniform failure has been the great difficulty of obtaining, within the machine, a base of resistance on which the steam might act in propelling the moveable piston." He did not quite overcome this difficulty, but he succeeded in producing what the foremost critic in this department of manufacture describes—after a lapse of thirty years unrivalled for their development of ingenuity—as "the most perfect engine of the class that has yet been projected."

"In this engine," says the same authority, "an eccentric is made to revolve on an axis in the manner of a piston, and two doors, forming part of the side of the cylinder, press upon the eccentric. The points

of these doors are armed with swivelling brasses, which apply themselves to the eccentric and make the point of contact tight in all positions."*

"This revolving engine," said Lord Dundonald, "does not require any valve or slide; consequently, there is no waste of steam thereby; neither is there any loss, as in the space left at the top and bottom of the cylinders of reciprocating engines. There is much less friction than arises from the sum of all the bearings required to convert the rectilineal force of the common engine to circular motion. There are no beams, cranks, side-rods, connecting-rods, parallel motions, levers, slide-valves, or eccentrics, with their nicely-adjusted joints and bearings; and thus the revolving engine is not liable, even in one-tenth degree, to the accidents and hindrances of other engines. As its moving parts pursue their course in perfect circles, without stop or hindrance, it is capable of progressive acceleration, until the work performed equals the pressure of steam on the vacuum—an advantage which the reciprocating engine does not possess. The diminished bulk and weight, and the absence of tremor, add to the capacity, buoyancy, velocity, and durability of vessels in which it is placed." The rotary engine did not satisfy all Lord Dundonald's expectations, but it took

* John Bourne. "A Treatise on the Steam-Engine" (1861), p. 392.

precedence of all others of the same sort, and was of great service at any rate in directing attention to what he rightly considered to be the great want in war-shipping, namely, vessels of the least possible bulk and of the greatest possible strength, speed, and fighting power.

Years were spent by him in attempting to bring it into notice. At his own cost he fitted out a little steamboat, which navigated the Thames; but to perfect the invention were required more funds than he had at his command, and he sought in vain for adequate assistance from others.

In January, 1834, he wrote to Sir James Graham, then First Lord of the Admiralty, thanking him for his share in the restitution of his naval rank that had occurred nearly two years before, and urging the co-operation of the Government in perfecting an invention that promised to be of so much importance to the naval power of England. "You are not obliged to me for anything," answered Sir James on the 15th; "I only am fortunate in being the member of a Government which has regained for our country the benefit of your distinguished valour and services, which, if again required in war, will, I am persuaded, be so exerted as to win the gratitude of the nation, and to demonstrate the justice of the decision to which you allude. It is impossible to

over-estimate the paramount importance of steam in future naval operations; and it is fortunate that you have directed so much of your attention to the subject. The Board has complied with your request, and two engineers, in whom we place reliance, will be ordered to attend you." It does not appear, however, that the engineers did attend. At any rate, nothing was done by the Admiralty in aid of the invention either then or for many years after.

Yet its ingenuity was acknowledged by all who investigated it, and by naval authorities among the number. The Earl of Minto, when First Lord of the Admiralty, sought to introduce it into the national ship-building; but official hindrances, too great even for him to overcome, stood in his way. All he could do was to have it referred to competent judges and to receive their report in its favour. "I am commanded to acquaint your lordship," wrote Sir John Barrow, the Secretary to the Admiralty, to the Earl of Dundonald, on the 20th of December, 1839, "that the opinions received of your revolving engine are favourable to the principle, and that it has not been stated that there are any insurmountable obstacles to its practical execution." The insurmountable obstacles were in the stolid resistance of subordinates to any novelty designed to lessen labour and promote economy.

Lord Minto, when out of office, was able to speak of the engine in more approving terms than he could adopt in his official capacity. "I need hardly say," he wrote on the 6th of September, 1842, "that the report of continued success in your rotatory engine gives me great pleasure, not only upon your own account, but as promising a valuable addition to our naval power in its application to ships of war. As a high-pressure engine, the complete success of your plan has, I believe, been recognised by all who have attended to it, and it is in this form that I had contemplated its application in the first instance as an auxiliary and occasional power in some ships of war."

At length, though not with all the energy that he desired, Lord Dundonald's engine was put to the test by the Admiralty during the Earl of Haddington's tenure of office in that department. In May, 1842, he was invited by the new First Lord, who, in common with all the world, was aware of the zeal and intelligence with which he had devoted himself to the consideration of every branch of naval science, to communicate his opinions thereupon. The first result of this invitation was a letter showing remarkable discernment of evils then existing, and curiously anticipating some later efforts to correct them.

"The slow progress," wrote Lord Dundonald, on

the 7th of June, "which the naval service has made towards its present ameliorated state—yet far from perfection—has not permitted any one Board of Admiralty in my time to stand pre-eminently distinguished for decisive improvements. These have rather been effected by the gradual changes which time occasions, or by following the example of America, or even of France, than by encouraging efforts of native genius. This has arisen from causes easily remedied; one of which is, that the rejection or adoption of proffered improvements has depended on the decision of several authorities, who consequently feel little individual responsibility, and imagine themselves liable to censure only for a change of system. Thus, my lord, a still heavier responsibility has, in fact, been incurred by continuing, long after the most superficial observation demanded a change, to construct small ships of the line, and little frigates, which the great practical skill and bravery of our countrymen were taxed to defend against the powerful eighty-gun ships of France and the large frigates of America. This timidity as to change caused many years to elapse, after the commercial use of steam-vessels, before the naval department possessed even a tug-boat. Hence the mischievous economy manifested by the purchase of worthless merchant steamers; hence the subse-

quent parsimonious project of building small steam-vessels fitted with engines immersed beyond their bearing, and deficient in every requisite for purposes of war. I am not one of those, my lord, who deem it advantageous to act on the belief that one Englishman can beat two Frenchmen. I am inclined to doubt whether a practical demonstration of that saying might not be attended with disastrous consequences. Long habitude reared experienced British officers, who are now replaced by others who possess less nautical skill, and are nearer on a par with those of France, in regard to whose education every pains has been taken by its Government. I do not presume to advise that your lordship should adopt changes precipitately, nor without consulting those who may be most competent to judge; no, nor even then that the best measures should be prematurely disclosed, so as to give intimation to other nations of the vast increase of power which may suddenly be rendered available. But I venture to suggest that you may quietly prepare the means of effecting purposes which neither the ordinary ships of war nor the present steam-ships in the navy can accomplish. Permanent blockades, my lord, are now quite out of the question; and so, in my opinion, are all our ordinary naval tactics. A couple of heavy line-of-battle ships, suddenly fitted, on the outbreak of war, with ade-

quate steam-power, would decide the successful result of a general action; and I am assured that I could show your lordship how to fit a steam-ship which, in scouring the Channel or ranging the coast, could take or destroy every steam-ship belonging to France that came within view."

That offer was accepted by the Earl of Haddington, who, being at Portsmouth in August, made personal inspection of some experiments in which Lord Dundonald was there engaging; and the result of that inspection was that he promptly arranged for the introduction, at the public expense, of the rotary engine in the *Firefly*, a small steam-vessel which, like many others, the Government had bought and found usless, by reason of its clumsy machinery. In her, with no more than the usual delay occasioned by the co-operation of official routine with private enterprise, in which Lord Dundonald had the assistance of Mr. Renton and Messrs. Bramah, the experiment was tried and found to answer so well, in spite of the difficulties incident to a first attempt, that it was resolved to develop it further in a frigate to be built throughout in accordance with his plans for the improved construction of shipping.

To these he had lately made some valuable additions. On the 19th of January, 1843, a patent was granted to him for various improvements in engines

and other machinery, one of which was an apparatus for propelling vessels. "This improved propeller," says a competent authority, "consists of an arrangement of propelling blades immerged beneath the water, in the manner now usual in screw vessels; but, instead of the blades being set at right angles with the propeller-shaft, they form an angle therewith. One important effect of this arrangement is that it corrects the centrifugal action of the screw; for whereas, in common screws, the water which is discharged backwards assumes a conical figure, enlarging as it recedes, in a screw formed on Lord Dundonald's plan the outline of the moving water will be cylindrical, the centrifugal action being counteracted by the convergent action due to the backward inclination of the propelling blades. It is found, practically, that screws constructed upon this principle give a better result than ordinary screws."*

Another invention patented by Lord Dundonald at the same time was a modification of the boilers used for steam-engines. "These boilers," says the same critic, "are constructed with a double tier of furnaces and with upright tubes, the water being contained within the tubes and the smoke impinging upon them on its passage to the chimney. This

* John Bourne. "A Treatise on the Screw Propeller, Screw Vessels, and Screw Engines" (1867), p. 42.

species of boiler is found to be very efficient. A hanging bridge is introduced to retain the heat in the upper part of the flue in which the tubes are erected. By inserting a short piece of tube in the upper extremity of each tube within the boiler the upward circulation of the water within the tubes was increased as the length of the lighter column of water was augmented, while the length of the gravitating column remained without alteration." *

"I believe," he said in a letter to Lord Haddington dated the 22nd of May, 1843, "that all our old vessels of war, save the class of eighty-gun ships and a few first-rate and large frigates, are almost worthless; whilst our steam department is deficient in most of the properties which constitute effective vessels. No blockades worthy of the name can now be maintained by fleets of sailing ships; nor can accompanying steamships be kept for months and years even in 'approximate readiness,' awaiting the distant night when it may suit the enemy to attack our blockading force or quietly to slip out in the dark in order to assail our commerce in other quarters. I have, my lord, during the last twelve years actually disbursed, to the great inconvenience of my family,

* John Bourne. "A Treatise on the Steam Engine" (1861), p. 233. These boilers, extensively used in London, America, and elsewhere, and now introduced in the Admiralty ship-building, have been greatly improved by Lord Dundonald's son, Captain the Hon. A. A. Cochrane, C.B.

upwards of 16,000*l.* to promote nautical objects which appeared to me of importance. Your lordship knows their nature, and it is in no way difficult to ascertain their reality. I consider that several, if not all our line-of-battle ships, should have the benefit of mechanical power, say to the extent of a hundred horses—the machinery to be placed out of the reach of shot. The construction of new ships on the best lines that could be found would prove more judicious than repairing old ones, however apparently cheap such repairs may be; for a few powerful and quick-sailing ships are preferable to a multitude which can neither successfully chase, nor escape from, an enemy."

That allusion to the "best lines" of ship-building, and some of Lord Dundonald's other views on naval architecture, will be explained by another letter written by him to Lord Haddington, three months before, on the 20th of February. "I have lately," he said, "submitted to the consideration of Sir George Cockburn an axiom for the uniform delineation of consecutive parabolic curves, forming a series of lines presenting the least resistance in the submerged portion of ships and vessels—an axiom never before so applied in naval architecture, as is manifest from the discrepant forms of our ships of war. I also offered to Sir George's attention a new propeller and

method of adapting propellers to sailing ships in her Majesty's service, free from the disadvantages of paddle-wheels and from the injurious consequences of lessening the buoyancy and weakening the strength of the after part of ships by a prolongation of the 'dead wood,' and by cutting a large hole through it for the insertion of the Archimedean screw. The favourable impression made on the mind of Sir George, and my own deliberate conviction of the importance of these improvements, and of others then briefly touched on, lead me, by reason of the lamented indisposition of that talented officer, now personally, instead of through him, to offer them to your lordship's attention.

"The French, as your lordship is well aware, are making great exertions to advance their steam department, especially in the Mediterranean, where calms are frequent and their coal is abundant—doubtless in the hope of thereby preventing the future blockade of Toulon, and of keeping open their intercourse with Algiers; which would be equivalent to possessing the dominion of the Mediterranean Sea, where a British blockading fleet of sailing ships must, under such circumstances, themselves be protected. In saying this, my lord, I beg to be understood as by no means depreciating the capabilities of our common ships of war, whilst they

possess the power of motion, but as holding them to be quite unfit for blockades, and exposed to great peril where calms are of frequent occurrence and long duration. Indeed, it may be worthy of your lordship's serious consideration whether, in another point of view, it might not be judicious to place steam-engines in some, at least, of our line-of-battle ships, in order to divert the attention of foreign nations from the exclusive employment of mechanical propelling power to purposes of naval war, whereby British officers and seamen, deprived of the means of displaying their superior skill, become reduced to a par with the trained bands of Continental states.

"I have prepared a model in bronze of a steam-frigate possessing peculiar properties, founded on the before-mentioned axiom, which I do not hesitate to submit to your lordship, would save vast sums wasted in the construction of inferior ships and vessels, by enabling the Admiralty, on unerring data, to stereotype—if I may use the expression—every curve in every rate or class of ships, and so impose on constructors the undeviating task of adhering to the lines and models scientifically determined on by their lordships."*

* The following statement of Lord Dundonald's "axiom" accompanied the model which was submitted to the Admiralty:—"It is universally

Great interest attended the development of Lord Dundonald's inventions. "I need hardly assure you," wrote Lord Minto, on the 4th of October, "of the very great satisfaction I derive from the continued and increasing success of your rotatory engine; and I shall now look with no little impatience for further evidence of its merits in the new steam-frigate to which it is to be applied. I am glad, also, that you have turned your attention to the construction of steamers of war. I have never been satisfied with the properties of these vessels, much as their construction has undoubtedly been improved of late

admitted that a sharp *bow* and a clear *run* contribute to the speed of vessels; but what the consecutive lines ought to be, in order to constitute a perfect *bow*, or what those to form the *run*, no builder has yet exemplified by uniformity of practice, or theoretically defined. Ship-delineators profess the art as a mystery, and arbitrary forms are assumed as the result of science. These lines ought to be, by an axiom, founded on a law imposed by Infinite Wisdom for the perfect guidance of inanimate matter. Projectiles, thrown obliquely, take their flight in convex parabolic curves, wherein resistance is overcome by a minimum of force; and elastic surfaces obey the converse of that law in opposing certain external influences. It is a property of conic sections that a straight line, centred in the apex, and caused to circumscribe the surface of the cone, will apply itself continuously to all consecutive parabolic curves. Hence curves similar to the flight of projectiles, and to those formed by the flection of elastic surfaces, may be described on a large scale simply by causing a straight line or beam to revolve as on the axis of a cone, in contact with a parabolic or elliptical section. Thus a consecutive series of convex parabolic or elliptical curves may be substituted in ship-building for hollow fantastical lines. The benefits from which application are, increased velocity, capacity, strength, buoyancy, facility of steering, ease in hard seas, and exemption from breaking or 'hogging.'" Diagrams and explanations thereof accompanied this concise statement of the principle.

years. It is certainly a difficult subject, because some of the qualities essential to a vessel under sail can only be obtained by some deviation from the form calculated to give the greatest speed under steam; and I consider fair sailing powers, so as under all circumstances to keep company with a fleet, as not less important than speed and power as a steamer. The best combination of these very different qualities, or that which will upon the whole produce the most serviceable ship, is yet to be sought. I think, also, that sufficient consideration has not yet been given to the correction of that very grievous defect, the great uneasiness and excessive rolling of all these vessels, from the low position of the weights they carry. There is another object in connection with your engine which I had constantly in view: I mean its adaptation in the high-pressure form to our ships of war in general. It was my intention, had I remained in office, to have fitted a frigate with one of your high-pressure engines—not very high, however—with a view, if the experiment answered, to the introduction of an occasional steam power in all ships of the line. I believe you and I may probably differ as to the amount of steam power it might be advisable to give such ships, and that you would wish to steam the *Vanguard* or the *Queen* at the rate of ten miles an hour. My wishes are much more humble, and I

should be perfectly satisfied with an amount of power sufficient to give steerage way under all circumstances, to carry the ship into or out of action, and to afford her some assistance in clearing off a lee-shore—something about equivalent to five knots—an amount of power that might probably be obtained, together with some fuel for occasional use, without encroaching too much upon the stowage of the ship. I shall be extremely glad if you can induce Lord Haddington to direct his attention to this object."

Through the latter part of 1843 and the whole of 1844, Lord Dundonald was chiefly occupied with the construction of the *Janus*, the steam-frigate which was being built and fitted upon his plans. She was shaped in accordance with his "lines," and in her were introduced both his revolving engines and his improved boilers. "I have just returned from Chatham," he wrote to a friend on the 6th of April, 1844, "where everything regarding the *Janus* is going on very well indeed. And I have further good news to tell you. The Admiralty are so pleased with my parabolic lines for ship-building that they have ordered a drawing to be made immediately of a frigate of the first class, in order to have one constructed." Hopeful that at last his long-cherished ideas would bring benefit both to himself

and to the nation, he had in these months much to encourage him. "All is going on as well as I could wish, or even as I could accomplish, were destiny at my command," he wrote on the 31st of May. "The Portsmouth engines now meet the approbation of all the authorities of the yard, and the Admiralty are so satisfied that they have given me the building of a steamship to put them in, in lieu of placing them in the old *Firefly*." "Nothing," he said in a letter written a week or two later, "can exceed the perfection of the work which the Bramahs have put into the *Janus*'s engines." "The experimental engine at Portsmouth," he wrote on the 3rd of July, "continues to perform admirably, beating all others in the yard in point of vacuum, which, you know, is the test of power." "The engines will commence being put together in ten or fourteen days," we read in another letter dated the 10th of July; "after that we shall make rapid progress. The *Janus* is now completing—that is, being coppered—and having the part of her deck laid down which was left off for the purpose of getting the boilers on board. My patent boilers will be tried by authority of the Admiralty about the 20th, and I hope for a favourable result." The trial, postponed till the 1st of August, was satisfactory. "We have tried the boilers of the *Janus*," he wrote on that day, "and the result is

most triumphant, having, with slack firing, ten and a half pounds of water evaporated by each pound of coal." "I have just returned from Portsmouth," he had written five days before, "where I had the pleasure to find my engine exceeding even all that it had done before—the vacuum, with all the work on, being 28½, two inches above that of any other engine in the dockyard. Mr. Taplin, the chief engineer, is quite delighted with it." "Sir George Cockburn and Sir John Barrow, permanent Secretary of the Admiralty, saw my engine yesterday," he wrote on the 24th of October, concerning the machine being built by the Bramahs for the *Janus*; "and so did Lord Brougham; all of whom were well pleased with my explanation of its principles and the appearance of the workmanship. It is now being pulled to pieces, in order to its being sent to Chatham and set up on board the *Janus*, whose boilers, by my request, are again to be officially tested as to their evaporative power, and that, too, by the Woolwich authorities, whose boilers have been beaten one-third by the evaporation of mine. This request must show the Admiralty my confidence in the correctness of the former trial, for there is no doubt the Woolwich people would condemn it if they could." This second and crucial trial took place on the 9th of November, and the result exceeded alike

Lord Dundonald's expectations and those of the official judges, to whom failure would have been most pleasant. "All matters as regards my engines," he wrote on the 20th of November, "are going on well. I hope soon to hear something satisfactory from the Admiralty on the subject of the boilers, respecting which they have until now pursued the most profound silence, notwithstanding the triumphant result, which has surpassed the product of the far-famed Cornish boilers in evaporative power."

Those extracts from Lord Dundonald's letters to the friend with whom he corresponded most freely will suffice to show in what temper he watched the progress of his inventions during 1844. At the close of the year he hoped that his labours to bring them into general use were now nearly at an end; but in this he was disappointed. The Woolwich authorities, who had at the time expressed their approval of the boilers, sent in an adverse report to the Admiralty, and Lord Dundonald had to wait several months before he could disprove the statements made against them; and opposition of the same sort—the common experience of nearly every inventor—encountered him at every turn, and had again and again to be overcome. His Portsmouth engine continued to work well; but in September, 1845, he learnt that a malicious trick had been

resorted to, to prevent its working better. "On a recent examination of the pumps in the well," wrote Mr. Taplin, the engineer, "to our utter astonishment we found, in the middle suction pipe, an elm plug, driven in so tight that we were obliged to bore and cut it out. The plug stopped that suction pipe effectually, and from its appearance must have been there from the time the pumps were first put in motion. As proof of this, we never had such a supply of water as at present." And that is only an illustration of the obstacles, accidental or designed, that occurred to him.

By them, the *Janus* was delayed for a whole year. She was to have been completed in 1844; but this was not done till the end of 1845. "I have just returned," Lord Dundonald was able to write on the 24th of December, "from a nine days' trip in the *Janus*, the result of which has been successful, both in regard to the properties of the engines and those of the 'lines' on which she has been constructed. Nothing can exceed the beauty of her passage through the water, without even a ripple, far less the wave which ordinary steamboats occasion." That success, however, was to be followed by a long series of disasters. The weight of the *Janus* had been miscalculated, and though she could proceed admirably in smooth water, she was found to lie so low

that there was constant danger of her being wrecked in rough seas and bad weather. Other faults, incident to the bringing together for the first time of so much new workmanship, were also discovered. She had to be returned to dock, and fresh hindrances of every sort occurred during the two following years; each hindrance being attended by tedious correspondence or controversies with petty functionaries jealous of a stranger's interference, and only eager to bring discredit upon his work. Much discredit did result. Loud complaints were made concerning the waste of public money resulting from Lord Dundonald's experiments, and on him, of course, nearly all the blame was thrown. All this, added to his previous difficulties in securing for his boiler and engine any notice at all, was very grievous to him. Every complaint and every entreaty from him was met by a new excuse and a new reason for delay. "Ten days are always added," he said, in one letter, "and ten days yet are said to be required."

The days became weeks and the weeks months, and still the *Janus* was incomplete. She was unfinished when Lord Dundonald left England for more than two years in order to fulfil the duties assigned to him as commander-in-chief of the North American and West Indian squadron, and his absence caused a final abandonment of the works.

The tedious process of her construction, however, to which only sufficient reference has here been made to serve as illustration of one phase of Lord Dundonald's life, was attended by many good results. To himself she brought only trouble and expense; but the obstacles thrown in her way and in his did not deter private adventurers from acting upon some of the principles developed in abortive attempts at her completion by public functionaries. Lord Dundonald's inventions—his revolving engine, his screw-propeller, his boiler, and his "lines of ship-building,"—have all proved useful in themselves, and have been of yet greater use in their influence upon the improved mechanism of our own generation.

To him must be attributed no slight share in the revolution that has been effected in the materials for naval warfare. Of the superiority of steamers to war-ships, he was one of the first advocates. His own rotatory engine was never extensively adopted, and was superseded by other engines which, lacking the great merit of direct action upon the paddles, that it was his object to attain, had other and greater merits of their own; but in their adoption his great object was realized, seeing that that object was not his own aggrandisement, but the development of the naval strength of England.

CHAPTER XXV.

LORD DUNDONALD'S SECRET WAR-PLANS.—HIS CORRESPONDENCE CONCERNING THEM WITH LORD LANSDOWNE, LORD MINTO, LORD HADDINGTON, AND LORD AUCKLAND.—HIS LETTER TO THE "TIMES."—THE REPORT OF A COMMITTEE CONSISTING OF SIR THOMAS HASTINGS, SIR JOHN BURGOYNE, AND LIEUT.-COL. COLQUHOUN UPON THE SECRET WAR-PLANS.—A FRENCH PROJECT FOR NAVAL WARFARE WITH ENGLAND.—LORD DUNDONALD'S OPINIONS THEREUPON.—HIS VIEWS ON THE DEFENCE OF ENGLAND.

[1833—1848.]

ZEALOUSLY as the Earl of Dundonald strove through nearly twenty years to perfect and to make generally useful his inventions in connection with steam shipping, he attached yet greater importance to another and an older invention or discovery, which, though its efficacy has been admitted by all to whom it has been explained, has never yet been adopted. This was the device known as his "secret war-plans," for capturing the fleets and forts of an enemy by an altogether novel process, attended by little cost or risk to the assailant, but of terrible effect upon the objects attacked.

These plans were conceived by him in 1811, and

in the following year, as he has told in his "Autobiography," he submitted them to the Prince Regent, afterwards King George IV. By the Prince they were referred to a Secret Committee, consisting of the Duke of York, as President, Lord Keith, Lord Exmouth, and the two Congreves; who, on the details being set before them, declared this method of attack to be infallible and irresistible. Lord Dundonald was pledged to secrecy by the Prince Regent, and it was proposed to employ the device in the war still proceeding with France. That proposal, however, was abandoned, and another, for a trial of the plan under Sir Alexander Cochrane in North America, in 1814, was prevented by the Stock Exchange trial. After that, the long peace enjoyed by England would have postponed the experiment, even if Lord Dundonald had not been debarred from pursuit of his calling as an English naval officer. He might have used his secret in Chili, Brazil, and Greece; but his promise to the Prince Regent, and patriotic feelings, that were even more cogent than that promise, restrained him. Once used, it would cease to be a secret; and he resolved that the great advantage that would accrue from the first use should be reserved for his own country.

The project, however, was not forgotten by him. Soon after the accession of King William IV., he

explained it to his Majesty, who acknowledged its value, and paid a tribute to Lord Dundonald's honourable conduct in keeping his secret so long and under such strong inducements to an opposite course. Soon afterwards, and during many years, the prospect of another war induced him to engage in frequent correspondence on the subject with various members of the successive Governments.

"I long ago," wrote the Marquis of Lansdowne—then President of the Council—in May, 1834, "communicated the substance of the paper you left with me, on the important objects which might be accomplished by the agency you describe, in an attack upon an hostile marine, to such of my colleagues as I then had an opportunity of seeing, and more particularly to Lord Minto, whom I found in some degree apprized of your views upon this subject. As questions of such importance to the naval interests of the country can only be satisfactorily inquired into by the Admiralty Department of the Government, I should recommend your entering into an unreserved communication with him on the subject, which I know he will receive with all the attention due to your high professional character and experience."

The Earl of Minto gave many proofs of his regard for Lord Dundonald; but he was not disposed to think favourably of the secret war-plan, and it was

kept in abeyance for four years more. In the autumn of 1838 Lord Dundonald again pressed its consideration upon Lord Lansdowne, alleging as a reason the warlike attitude of Russia. "I am obliged to you for your letter," wrote Lord Lansdowne in reply, on the 5th of November, "and will certainly make use of the communication it contains in the proper quarter, if the occasion arises, which I sincerely hope it will not. Ambitious and encroaching as Russia is seen and felt to be in all directions, I am confident that her own true policy is to avoid giving just cause for war, and that, busily as she may use all indirect means towards her ends which she thinks she can justify, she will yield to remonstrance when these limits are transgressed by her agents. This is a course, however, which requires to be, and I trust will be, most carefully watched."

In that interesting letter, Lord Lansdowne showed, by his silence, that he was not inclined to investigate the war-plan; and a like indifference was experienced by Lord Dundonald in his repeated efforts, during the ensuing years, to secure its acceptance by the Government. It was submitted to a favoured few, and all to whom it was explained acknowledged its efficacy; but no more than that was done. Its most competent critic was the Duke of Wellington, who recognised the terrible power of

the device, although he objected to it on the score that "two could play at that game." "If the people of France shall force their Government to war with England," wrote Lord Dundonald to Lord Minto on the 3rd of August, 1840, "I hope you will do me the favour and justice to reflect on the nature of the opinion you received from the Duke of Wellington in regard to my plans, which is the same as that given to the Prince Regent by Lords Keith and Exmouth and the two Congreves in the year 1811, and that your lordship will perceive, that 'although two can play at the game,' the one who first understands it can alone be successful. In the event of war, I beg to offer my endeavours to place the navy of France under your control, or at once effectually to annihilate it. Were my plans known to the world, I should not be accused of over-rating their powers by the above otherwise extraordinary assertion." Lord Minto's answer was very brief: "I shall bear your offer in mind; but there is not the slightest chance of war."

For the same reason the secret plans were set aside by the Earl of Haddington, who was First Lord of the Admiralty after Lord Minto. He rendered considerable aid to Lord Dundonald in testing his steam-engine and boiler, but considered the fact that England was at peace as a sufficient reason for

not discussing the value of a new instrument of war.

Lord Dundonald, however, who knew the value of his invention, thought otherwise. While vast sums of money were being spent at Dover, Portsmouth, and elsewhere upon fortifications and harbours of refuge for trading-vessels, which, in war time, could have no chance of safety against fighting steamships in the open sea, he deemed it especially important that attention should be paid to a project calculated to effect an entire revolution in the principles and methods of warfare. If his project was feasible, it furnished an instrument by which fortifications and harbours of refuge would be rendered useless, seeing that the most powerful enemy might by it be effectually prevented from coming within reach of those defences, or, if he was allowed to approach them, could use it with a terrible effect, to which the most formidable defences could offer no resistance. It was under this impression that, on the 29th of November, 1845, finding Governments indifferent to his arguments, he addressed a vigorous letter to "The Times."

"Had gunpowder and its adaptation to artillery," he there said, "been discovered and perfected by an individual, and had its wonderful power been privately tested, indisputably proved, and reported to a Govern-

ment, or to a council of military men, at the period when the battering-ram and cross-bow were chief implements in war, it is probable that the civilians would have treated the author as a wild visionary, and that the professional council, true to the *esprit de corps*, would have spurned the supposed insult to their superior understanding. Science and the arts, both of peace and war, nevertheless, in despite of all such retarding causes, have advanced, and probably will advance, until effects and consequences accrue which the imagination can scarcely contemplate.

"It is not, however, my intention to intrude observations of an ordinary nature, but to endeavour to rectify an erroneous opinion which appears to prevail, that consequences disastrous to this country may be anticipated from the introduction of steam-ships into maritime warfare. I am desirous of showing that the use of steam-ships of war, though at present available by rival nations, need not necessarily diminish the security of our commerce; that still less need it necessarily endanger our national existence, which appears to be apprehended by those who allege the necessity of devoting millions of money to the defence of our coasts. I contend that there is nothing in the expected new system of naval warfare, through the employment of steam-vessels, that can justify such expensive and derogatory precautions, because there

are equally new, and yet secret, means of conquest, which no devices hitherto used in maritime warfare could resist or evade.

"That the like prejudice or incredulity which in all probability would have scouted the invention of gunpowder, if offered to notice under the circumstances above supposed, may exist to a considerable extent in the present case, is extremely likely; yet I do not the less advisedly affirm, that with this all-powerful auxiliary invasion may be rendered impossible, and our commerce secure, by the speedy and effectual destruction of all assemblages of steam-ships, and, if necessary, of all the navies of the whole world, which, for ever after, might be prevented from inconveniently increasing. Away then with the sinister forebodings which have originated the recent devices for protruding through the sterns of sluggish ships of war additional guns for defence in fight! Away with the projected plans of 'protective forts and ports' of cowardly refuge! Let the manly resolution be taken, when occasion shall require, vigorously to attack the enemy, instead of preparing elaborate means of defence. Factitious ports on the margin of the Channel cannot be better protected than those which exist, respecting which I pledge any professional credit I may possess, that whatever hostile force might therein be assembled could be destroyed

within the first twenty-four hours favourable for effective operations, in defiance of forts and batteries, mounted with the most powerful ordnance now in use.

"In the capacity of an officer all hope seemed to be precluded, that in time of peace I could render service to my country. A new light, however, has beamed through the cloud, for in the pursuit of my vocation as an amateur engineer it has become apparent that a plan, which I deemed available only in war, may contribute to prevent the naval department from being paralysed by wasteful perversion of its legitimate support. Protective harbours (save as screens from wind and sea) may be likened to nets wherein fishes, seeking to escape, find themselves inextricably entangled; or to the guardian care of a shepherd, who should pen his flock in a fold to secure it from a marching army. No effective protection could be afforded in such ports against a superior naval force equipped for purposes of destruction; whilst their utility as places of refuge from steam privateers is quite disproportioned to their cost—privateers could neither tow off merchant vessels from our shore, nor regain their own, if appropriate measures shall be adopted to intercept them.

"Impressions in favour of so expensive, so despondent, and so inadequate a scheme, can have no better origin than specious reports, emanating from

delusive opinions derived from a very limited knowledge of facts. The hasty adoption of such measures, and the voting away the vast sums required to carry them into execution, are evils seriously to be deprecated. It is, therefore, greatly to be desired that those in power should pause before proceeding further in such a course. It behoves them to consider in all its bearings, and in all its consequences, the contemplated system of stationary maritime defence, subject, as that system may become, to the overwhelming influence of the secret plan which I placed in their hands, similar to that which I presented in 1812 to His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, who referred its consideration confidentially to Lord Keith, Lord Exmouth, and the two Congreves, professional and scientific men, by whom it was pronounced to be infallible, under the circumstances detailed in my explanatory statement.

"Thirty-three years is a long time to retain an important secret, especially as I could have used it with effect in defence of my character when cruelly assailed (as I have shown at length in a representation to the Government), and could have practically employed it on various occasions to my private advantage. I have now, however, determined to solicit its well-merited consideration, in the hope, privately, if possible, to prove the comparative inexpedience of

an expenditure of some 12,000,000*l.* or 20,000,000*l.* sterling for the construction of forts and harbours, instead of applying ample funds at once to remodel and renovate the navy—professionally known to be susceptible of immense improvement—including the removal from its swollen bulk of much that is cumbrous and prejudicial.

"However injudicious it might be thought to divulge my plan, at least until energetically put in execution for an adequate object; yet, if its disclosure is indispensable to enable a just and general estimate to be formed of the merits of the mongrel terraqueous scheme of defence now in contemplation, as compared with the mighty power and protective ubiquity of the floating bulwarks of Britain, I am satisfied that the balance would be greatly in favour of publicity. It would demonstrate that there could be no security in those defences and those asylums, on the construction of which it is proposed to expend so many millions of the public money; it might, therefore, have the effect of preventing such useless expenditure, and of averting the obviously impending danger of future parsimonious naval administration, abandonment of essential measures of nautical improvement, and the national disgrace of maritime degradation—all inseparable from an unnatural hermaphrodite union between a distinguished service,

which might still further be immeasurably exalted, and the most extravagant, derogatory, inefficient, and preposterous project that could be devised for the security and protection of an insular, widely-extended, colonial and commercial State."

A few months after that letter had been written, Lord Dundonald's hopes that his secret plans would be accepted by the Government were revived. In 1846, his friend Lord Auckland took office as First Lord of the Admiralty; and by him, with very little delay, it was proposed to submit the plans to the judgment of a competent committee of officers. This was all that Lord Dundonald had asked for, and he gladly accepted the proposal. The officers chosen were Sir Thomas Hastings, then Surveyor-General of the Ordnance, Sir J. F. Burgoyne, and Lieutenant-Colonel J. S. Colquhoun. By them the project was carefully considered, and on the 16th of January, 1847, they tendered their official report upon it. "These plans," it was there said, "may be classed under three heads:—1st. One, on which an opinion may be formed with experiment, for concealing or masking offensive warlike operations; and we consider that, under many particular circumstances, the method of his lordship may be made available as well by land as by sea, and we therefore suggest that a record of this part of Lord Dundonald's plans should

be deposited with the Admiralty, to be made use of when, in the judgment of their lordships, the opportunity for employing it may occur. 2nd. One, on which experiments would be required before a satisfactory conclusion could be arrived at. 3rd. Nos. 1 and 2 combined for the purpose of hostile operations. After mature consideration, we have resolved that it is not desirable that any experiment should be made. We assume it to be possible that the plan No. 2 contains power for producing the sweeping destruction the inventor ascribes to it; but it is clear this power could not be retained exclusively by this country, because its first employment would develop both its principle and application. We considered, in the next place, how far the adoption of the proposed secret plans would accord with the feelings and principles of civilized warfare. We are of unanimous opinion that plans Nos. 2 and 3 would not be so. We therefore recommend that, as hitherto, plans Nos. 2 and 3 should remain concealed. We feel that great credit is due to Lord Dundonald for the right feeling which prompted him not to disclose his secret plans, when serving in war as naval commander-in-chief of the forces of other nations, and under many trying circumstances, in the conviction that these plans might eventually be of the highest importance to his own country."

That report was, in the main, highly gratifying to Lord Dundonald. It recognized the efficacy of his plans, and recommended their partial use, at any rate, in time of need. "Permit me to express, as far as I am able," he wrote to Lord Auckland on the 27th of January, "my deep sense of obligation to your lordship in causing my plans of war to be thoroughly investigated by the most competent authorities, and for the extremely kind terms in which you have informed me of the satisfactory result. With regard to their disposal, I submit that it would be advisable to retain them inviolate until a period shall arrive when the use of them may be deemed beneficial to the interests of the country. 'I have to observe, as to the opinions of the commission, that plans Nos. 2 and 3 would not accord with the principles and feeling of civilized warfare, that the new method resorted to by the French, of firing horizontal shells and carcases, is stated by a commission of scientific and practical men appointed by the French Government to ascertain their effects, to be so formidable that 'it would render impossible the success of any enterprise attempted against their vessels in harbour,' and that, 'for the defence of roadsteads, or for the attack of line-of-battle ships, becalmed or embayed, its effect would be infallible,' —namely, by blowing up or burning our ships, to

the probable destruction of the lives of all their crews. I submit that, against such batteries as these, the adoption of my plans Nos. 2 and 3 would be perfectly justifiable."

That the French, not yet forgetful of the injuries inflicted on them in the last great war, and in the frequent wars of previous centuries, were still hoping and planning for an opportunity of retaliation, and that their plans needed to be carefully watched and counteracted, were convictions strongly impressed upon Lord Dundonald in these years; and in 1848 he had a singular verification of them. "I enclose a paper of some consequence," wrote Lord Auckland to him on the 30th of June. "It contains the plan which, in contemplation of war, has been submitted to the French Provisional Government for naval operations. It is, perhaps, little more than the pamphlet of the Prince de Joinville, carried out methodically and in detail, and the writer seems to me to anticipate a far more exclusive playing of the game only on one side than we should allow to be the case; but, nevertheless, such a mode of warfare would be embarrassing and mischievous, and I should like to have from you your views of a counter project to it, and your criticisms upon it."

The report here forwarded to Lord Dundonald by Lord Auckland, entitled "La Puissance Maritime de

là France," and designed to show that "une guerre maritime est plus à redouter pour l'Angleterre que pour la France," besides affording curious confirmation of Lord Dundonald's opinions, is a document very memorable in itself. Its main idea was that in naval warfare victory is to be obtained, not by mere numbers, but by superiority in ships and guns. "In the present condition of our marine," said its author, "we must give up fleet-fighting. The English can arm more fleets than we can, and we cannot maintain a war of fleets with England without exposing ourselves to losses as great as those we experienced under the First Empire. Though during twenty years, however, our warfare, as carried on by fleets, was disastrous, that of our cruisers was nearly always successful. By again sending these forth, with instructions not to compromise themselves with an enemy superior to them in numbers, we shall inflict great loss on English commerce. To attack that commerce is to attack the vital principle of England —to strike her to the heart."

That was the view advanced under Louis Philippe's reign by the Prince de Joinville; but it was much more elaborately worked out by the advocate of naval energy in days immediately preceding Prince Louis Napoleon's accession to power. "What I propose," he said, "is a war founded on this principle of

striking at English commerce. In a naval war between two nations, one of which has a very large commerce, and the other very little, military forces are of small consequence. In the end, peace must become a necessity to the power which has much to lose and little to gain. Let us see what took place in America during the disputes on the Oregon question. Despite the immense superiority of the English navy, the Americans maintained their pretensions. England found out that their well-equipped frigates and countless privateers were sufficient to carry on a war against her commerce in all parts of the globe; whilst all the damage she could do to America was the destruction of a few coast-towns, by which she could gain neither honour nor profit; and so she decided to preserve peace by yielding the question. It is this American system that we in France must adopt. Renouncing the glory of fleet victories, we must make active war on the commercial shipping of Great Britain. If America with her small means could gain such an advantage over England, what results may we not expect to obtain with a hundred and fifty ships of war and three hundred corsairs armed with long-range guns?"

The report recommended that the naval force of France should be organized in twenty "corsair-divisions." These were to have Cherbourg for their

head-quarters; one to look after the merchant-shipping in the British Channel; another to watch the mouth of the Thames; and a third to cruise along the Dutch and German coasts, so as to intercept our Baltic trade; and all these were to be aided by a line of telegraphs from Brest to Dunkirk, in correspondence with a line of scouts ranged along the French coast, with orders to communicate to the central station at Cherbourg every movement of British merchantmen. Three similar divisions were to be formed at Brest, charged respectively with the oversight of the East and West Indian shipping as it passed Cape Clear, of the Azores, and of the Irish Coast. A seventh division, stationed at Rochefort, was to watch for a favourable opportunity of co-operating with the other six, if desirable, in transporting an army to Ireland. An eighth division was to watch the neighbourhood of Gibraltar, and four others were to be stationed in various parts of the Mediterranean. Three other divisions were to cruise along the North American coast, to harass our commerce with the United States, to intercept the trade of Canada and the neighbouring colonies, and, in spring time, to capture the produce of the Newfoundland fisheries. Three smaller divisions were to be charged with the annoyance of our West Indian Islands and the destruction of their commerce; and the remaining two were to scour the coasts of South

America. A separate and formidable establishment of screw-frigates was to have for its head-quarters a port of refuge to be constructed in Madagascar, whence operations were to be directed in all quarters against our East Indian possessions and their extensive trade.

"In addition to these means," it was further said in the report, "the Departmental Councils should each arm one steam-frigate, commanded by an officer of the navy born in the department. The prizes captured by each should in this case be at the disposal of the Departmental Councils, a portion being devoted to defraying the expenses of the vessel, and the remainder applied to the execution of public works within the department." "As regards the defence of French ports, this may be best effected by flat-bottomed hulks, armed with long-range guns adapted to horizontal firing. The chances against invasion are greatly in favour of France, on account of the superiority of her land force, and the facility of transporting troops by railway to the locality attacked." "A great point will be the perfect training of the French squadron by annual evolutions, and with double or treble the requisite number of officers. If these suggestions are carried out, France will establish at sea what Russia has done on land, to the injury and restriction of British commerce, which must be seriously damaged, without material harm being done

to ourselves. This loss of commerce will especially affect the working classes of England, and thus bring about a democratic inundation which will compel her to a speedy submission."

Those were the chief proposals of the secret memoir which, falling into the hands of the British Government, so far alarmed it as to lead it to call upon the Earl of Dundonald for his opinions as to the best way of meeting the threatened danger. "This document," he wrote in his reply to Lord Auckland, "describes a plan of maritime operations undoubtedly more injurious to the interests of England than that pursued by France in former wars. There is nothing new, however, in the opinions promulgated. They have long been familiar to British naval officers, whose wonder has been that the wide-spread colonial commerce of England has never yet been effectually assailed. It is true that the advice given in the memoir derives more importance now from the fact that the application of steam-power to a system of predatory warfare constitutes every harbour a port of naval equipment, requiring to be watched, not in the passive manner of former blockades, but effectively by steam-vessels having their fires kindled at least during the obscurity of night. The cost and number of such blockades need not be dwelt on, nor the indefinite period to which prudence on the part of the

enemy, and vigilance on that of the blockading force, might prolong a war. One hundred millions sterling added to our national debt would solve a doubt whether the most successful depredation on British commerce could produce consequences more extensive and permanently injurious. The memoir obviously anticipates that 'l'usage des canons bombes, dont les atteintes ont un si prodigieux effet,' will prevent our blockading ships from approaching the shores of France, and that thus their steam-vessels might escape unobserved during night, even with sailing-vessels in tow. This is no vague conjecture, but a consequence which assuredly will follow any hesitation on our part to counteract the system extensively adopted, and now under the consideration of the National Assembly, of arming all batteries with projectiles, whereby to burn or blow up our ships of war—a fate which even the precaution of keeping out of range could not avert, by reason of the incendiary and explosive missiles whereby 'les petits batiments à vapeur pouront attaquer les plus gros vaisseaux.' It is impossible to retaliate by using similar weapons. Forts and batteries are incombustible. Recourse must therefore be had to other means, whereby to overcome fortifications protecting expeditionary forces and piratical equipments."

The means recommended by Lord Dundonald, it

need hardly be said, were the secret war-plans which he had developed nearly forty years before, and the efficacy of which had recently been again admitted by the committee appointed to investigate them in 1846. It is not allowable, of course, to quote the paragraphs in which Lord Dundonald once more explained them and urged their adoption in case of need. The only objection offered to them was that they were too terrible for use by a civilized community. "These means," he replied, "all powerful, are nevertheless humane when contrasted with the use of shells and carcases by ships at sea, and most merciful, as competent to avert the bloodshed that would attend the contemplated 'descente en Angleterre ou en Ireland,' and other hostile schemes recommended in the memoir."

That letter was forwarded to Lord Auckland from Halifax, where Lord Dundonald then was, in the beginning of August. "Assuredly the reasons which you give for the use of the means suggested are such as it is difficult to controvert," wrote Lord Auckland on the 18th; "but I would at least defer my assent or dissent to the time when the question may be more pressing than it is at present." "I would postpone my own reflections on the 'secret plans,'" he wrote again on the 1st of September, "and would fain hope that events will allow the

Government long to postpone all decision upon them. I agree with you, however, in much that you say upon their principle, and am well satisfied that to no hands better than yours could the execution of any vigorous plans be entrusted."

When, however, as will be seen on a latter page, an opportunity did arise for enforcing those plans against another power than France, their execution was not permitted to Lord Dundonald.

Strongly as he himself was impressed with their importance, they formed only a part of a complete system of opinions respecting the defence of England at which he arrived by close study and long experience. These have already been partially indicated. He did not wish that his plans should be lightly made use of; but, believing that they would ultimately become a recognised means of warfare, and that even without them a great revolution would soon take place in ways of fighting, he deprecated as useless and wasteful the elaborate fortifications which were in his time beginning to be extensively set up at Dover, Portsmouth, and other possible points of attack upon England, and urged, with no less energy, that vast improvements ought to be made in the construction and employment of ships of war.

Fortifications, he considered, were only desirable

for the protection of the special ports and depôts around which they were set up; and even for that purpose they ought to be so compact as to need no more than a few troops and local garrisons for their occupation. To have them so complicated and numerous as to require the exclusive attention of all or nearly all the military force of England, appeared to him only a source of national weakness. His own achievements at Valdivia and elsewhere showed him that skilful seamanship on the part of an invader would render them much less sufficient for the defence of the country than was generally supposed. If all our soldiers were scattered along various parts of the coast, it would not be difficult for the enemy, by a bold and sudden onslaught, or still more by a feint of the sort in which he himself was master, to take possession of one, and then there would be no concentrated army available to prevent the onward march of the assailant. Much wiser would it be to leave the seaboard comparatively unprotected from the land, and to have a powerful army so arranged as to be ready for prompt resistance of the enemy, if, by any means, he had gained a footing on the shore.

To prevent that footing being gained, however, Lord Dundonald was quite as eager as any champion of monster fortifications could be; but this prevention, he urged, must be by means of moveable ships,

and not by immoveable land-works. A strong fleet of gunboats, stationed all along the coast, and with carefully-devised arrangements for mutual communication, so that at any time their force could be speedily concentrated in one or more important positions, would be far more efficacious and far more economical than the more popular expedients for the military defence of England. He heartily believed, in fact, in the old and often-proved maxim that the sea was England's wall, and he desired to have that wall guarded by a force able to watch its whole extent and pass at ease from one point to another as occasion required.

Desiring that thus the coast should be immediately protected by efficient gunboats, he desired no less to augment the naval strength of the country by means of improved war-ships as much like gunboats as possible. To large ships, if constructed in moderation and applied to special purposes, he was not averse; but he set a far higher value upon small and well-armed vessels, able to pass rapidly from place to place and to navigate shallow seas. "Give me," he often said, "a fast small steamer, with a heavy long-range gun in the bow, and another in the hold to fall back upon, and I would not hesitate to attack the largest ship afloat." His opinion on this point also was confirmed by his own experience—most notably

in the exploits of his little *Speedy* in the Mediterranean—and by the whole history of English naval triumphs. Since the time when the so-called Invincible Armada of Spain entered the British Channel, designed to conquer England by means of its huge armaments, and when the bulky galleons and galeasses of Philip's haughty sailors were chased and worried by the smaller barks and pinnaces of Drake, Hawkins, Frobisher, and the other sea-captains of Elizabeth, who sailed round and round their foe, and darted in and out of his unwieldy mass of shipping, never failing to inflict great injury, while his volleys of artillery passed harmlessly over their decks to sink into the sea, there had been abundant proof of the constant superiority of small warships over large. A "mosquito fleet," as he called it, was what Lord Dundonald wished to see developed; a swarm of active little vessels, just large enough to carry one or two powerful guns, which could go anywhere and do anything, to which the larger crafts of the enemy would afford convenient targets, but which, small and nimble, would be much less likely to be themselves attacked, and, even if attacked and sunk, would entail far less loss than would ensue from the destruction of a large war-ship. "As large a gun as possible, in a vessel as small and swift as possible, and as many of them as you can

put upon the sea," was Lord Dundonald's ideal. For this he argued during half a century; for this he laboured hard and long in the exercise of his inventive powers. In 1826, the plan of the war-steamers which he was to have taken to Greece was explained to Lord Exmouth—no slight authority on naval matters. "Why, it's not only the Turkish fleet," exclaimed the veteran, "but all the navies in the world, that you will be able to conquer with such craft as these."

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE EARL OF DUNDONALD'S CLAIM FOR THE RESTORATION OF THE ORDER OF THE BATH.—HIS GOOD SERVICE PENSION.—THE INVESTIGATION OF HIS SECRET WAR-PLANS.—HIS PAMPHLET ON NAVAL AFFAIRS.—HIS INSTALLATION AS A G.C.B.—HIS CANDIDATURE FOR ELECTION AS A SCOTCH REPRESENTATIVE PEER.—THE QUEEN'S PERMISSION TO HIS WEARING THE BRAZILIAN ORDER OF THE "CRUZIERO."—HIS APPOINTMENT AS COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE NORTH AMERICAN AND WEST INDIAN STATION.

[1839—1848.]

THE restoration of his naval rank to the Earl of Dundonald in 1832, was slowly followed by other acts reversing the injustice of previous years by which a large portion of his life had been embittered.

"Your lordship and the Admiralty," he wrote to Lord Minto, then at the head of naval affairs, on the 30th of March, 1839, "may have been surprised that I have never solicited any appointment since my reinstatement in the naval service by his late Majesty, whose memory I shall ever cherish for this magnanimous act of justice. The cause, my lord, has not been from any reluctance on my part, but from a

feeling which, I have no doubt, will appear satisfactory to your lordship, if you do me the favour to read the enclosed copy of a letter which I have written this day to the Marquess of Lansdowne as President of the Council." The letter to Lord Lansdowne referred in great part to Lord Dundonald's rotary-engine, and to his secret war-plan, which he expressed his willingness to put in execution if ever it was required. "Your lordship and the Privy Council, however," it was added, "will not fail to observe that, if it shall ever be the intention of the Government, under any circumstances, again to employ me in the naval service, it would be quite inconsistent with the character of that service, as well as my own reputation, for me to assume command, unless the Order of the Bath, gained on the 12th of April, 1809, now thirty years ago, shall be restored to me."

"I hope it will appear to your lordship," said Lord Dundonald, in a letter to Lord Melbourne, dated the 11th July, 1839, "that my services as a naval officer have been useful and honourable to my country; and, referring to those services and to the peculiar opportunities I have since had of acquiring further professional knowledge, I may say, without vanity, that her Majesty has no officer in her navy more experienced than myself; and yet, from the

extraordinary circumstances of my case, I am the only flag-officer in her Majesty's service who, if called upon to take a command, could not do so consistently with his own honour and the respect due to those who might be appointed to serve under him. For where is the officer who could not conveniently call to mind, that I, who when only a captain was a Knight of the Bath, was deprived of that honour, and that now, though a flag-officer, I have not been deemed worthy of having it restored?" "I am sensible," wrote Lord Dundonald in another letter to the Premier, written eight days later, "that the act of justice which I experienced from the late King, under the ministry of Earl Grey, of which your lordship was a distinguished member, in restoring me to my naval rank, was a great favour, inasmuch as it evinced a considerate feeling towards me; and I was then fully satisfied with it, under the impression that it would be viewed by the public, and especially by the navy, as a testimony of the belief of the Government, at that time, that I was innocent of the offence that had been laid to my charge, and also that I should stand as good a chance as most of my brother officers (and perhaps, from my experience, a better) of being called to active service. I did not then foresee that the restoration of my naval rank alone would be viewed as a half-measure. Still less

did I anticipate that, in the event of my being offered an appointment, I should be incapacitated from accepting it by reason of the feelings of other officers that I still laboured under some imputation which would render it derogatory to them to serve under me. But it is now impossible for me to conceal from myself the fact that, while the navy generally is kindly disposed towards me, and would rejoice to see me fully reinstated in all that I once enjoyed, I am considered by many to remain as completely precluded from active service as if my name had never more appeared in the Navy List. I trust, my lord, that it cannot be thought reasonable to reduce me to the inglorious condition of a retired or yellow admiral at home, and at the same time to deny me the privilege of acquiring either emolument or distinction in foreign service."

Lord Dundonald's hope was that, on the occasion of her Majesty's marriage, there would be a bestowal of honours, which would afford a convenient opportunity for the restoration of his dignity as a Knight of the Bath. But in this he was disappointed.

A minor favour was conferred upon him, however, and in a very gratifying way, eighteen months later. "You are probably aware," wrote Lord Minto to him on the 3rd of January, 1841, "that the death of Sir Henry Bayntam has vacated

one of the pensions for good and meritorious service. Before I left town a few days ago I made my arrangements to enable me to confer this pension upon you, if you should think it worthy of your acceptance, either as evidence of the high estimation in which I have ever held your services, or as convenient in a pecuniary point of view. Although you are one of the few who have not applied for this, I do not fear that any one of the numerous claimants can show so good a title to it."

That compliment was accepted by Lord Dundonald in a spirit answering to that in which it was offered. Yet his reasonable anxiety for a restitution of the Order of the Bath was not abated, and thereupon he was engaged in a correspondence with the Earl of Haddington, then First Lord of the Admiralty, during the early part of 1842, which was closed by the intimation, bitterly disappointing to Lord Dundonald, that the Cabinet Council declined recommending the Queen to comply with his earnest request.

Equally disappointing was the result of another application with the same object which he made to Sir Robert Peel in the autumn of 1844. "Her Majesty's servants," wrote Sir Robert Peel on the 7th of November, "have had under consideration the letter which I received from your lordship,

bearing date the 10th of September. On reference to the proceedings which were adopted in the year 1832, it appears that, previously to the restoration of your lordship to your rank in the navy, a free pardon under the Great Seal was granted to your lordship; and adverting to that circumstance, and to the fact that thirty years have now elapsed since the charges to which the free pardon had reference were the subject of investigation before the proper judicial tribunal of the country, her Majesty's servants cannot consistently with their duty advise the Queen to reopen an inquiry into these charges."

Lord Dundonald failed to see, in the partial reversal, twelve years before, of the unjust treatment to which he had been subjected eighteen years before that, a reason for refusing to inquire whether there was any injustice yet to be atoned for. He had not, however, very much longer to wait for the object which he sought.

One of his grounds for desiring a public recognition of the efficacy of his secret war-plans was a reasonable belief that, if it was seen that through half a lifetime he had steadfastly avoided using for his private advantage what might have been to him a vast source of wealth, in order that the secret might be reserved solely for the benefit of his country, it would be acknowledged to be incredible

that, for insignificant ends, he could have resorted to the gross and clumsy fraud attributed to him at the Stock Exchange trial. And in this expectation he was right. Nearly all the reparation that was now possible quickly followed upon the investigation into the war-plans that was referred to in the last chapter.

While the investigation was pending he was pained by a letter from Sir Thomas Hastings, not unkind in itself, but showing that his real motives for courting that investigation were not understood. "I made a communication to-day," wrote Sir Thomas on the 27th of November, 1846, "that the commission had entered on its duties, and received instructions to inform you that it would be desirable, before the commission proceeded further, to ascertain your lordship's views as to the nature of the remuneration you would expect from Government in the event of your plans being reported on favourably."

Lord Dundonald's reply was characteristic. "You intimate a wish on the part of Government," he wrote on the 1st of December, "to ascertain my views in regard to the 'remuneration' I expect, in the event of my plans being favourably reported on. I reply that I devoted these plans, thirty-five years ago, to the service of my country, that I have

reserved them through the most adverse and trying circumstances, satisfied that at some future time I should prove my character to be above pecuniary considerations or mercenary motives. I have looked forward to the restoration of those honours, of which I was most unjustly bereaved, and to freedom from mental anguish, endured throughout an isolation from society of one-third of a century. I cannot contrast with such sufferings, nor with my plans, any sum that Government could bestow. Nevertheless, I have implicitly relied that collateral deprivations and losses would be taken into consideration by some future, just, and impartial Administration. I do most earnestly hope that the period has now arrived."

That letter was communicated by Sir Thomas Hastings to Lord Auckland. "I return the letter," he wrote to Sir Thomas on the 16th of December, "which Lord Dundonald wrote to you upon the remuneration which he would expect in the event of a favourable report upon his plans; namely, first, his restoration to the honours of which he was deprived; and, secondly, a consideration of collateral deprivations and losses. I am sorry to acquaint you that the first condition is one to which I am not authorized to promise an acquiescence. It is not necessary that I should discuss the difficulties which

occur to the restoration in question. I can only express my own deep regret that they should exist, and that the hopes which have been entertained by Lord Dundonald should be disappointed. For myself, I personally regard him. I look upon his naval career as most remarkable and most honourable; and I must lament whatever may seem to detract from the advantage and grace of his return to the navy."

"Sir Thomas Hastings," wrote Lord Dundonald to Lord Auckland on the following day, "has sent me your sympathizing note on the decision of the Cabinet Council in regard to the first item, designated as 'the remuneration I would expect in the event of a favourable report on my plans.' Now, after the expression of my deep sense of gratitude to your lordship for having brought the question before the Cabinet, I do most sincerely rejoice that 'the first condition is one to which you are not authorized to promise an acquiescence.' I could not deem acquiescence a remuneration; nor could I value it otherwise than as evidence of conviction, produced by facts and the tenor of a whole life, of my incapability of descending to base acts for gain at any period of my existence, especially at a moment when I can prove that I had objects of the highest national importance and the most brilliant personal prospects in view. In confirmation of disinterestedness, I fur-

ther hold my retention of the 'secret war-plans' for a period of thirty-five years; notwithstanding frequent opportunities to use them to my incalculable private advantage. The merit of these plans, though I am well aware of their value, is yet officially unpronounced by the commission appointed to report. Therefore, the preceding facts being doubtful, I repeat that I do most sincerely rejoice that the Cabinet Council have manifested that their decision neither depends on favour nor on the value of the plans themselves. Foreseeing that, whatever may be the ultimate determination, it must be founded on facts and justified by an exposition of my conduct and character, I am preparing a document which, whatever may be my fate pending the brief remainder of my existence, will justify my memory when grievous wrongs shall cease to prey on a mind which, save from the consciousness of rectitude, would in brief time have bowed my head with humiliation to the ground."

The document there referred to was a pamphlet entitled "Observations on Naval Affairs, and on some Collateral Subjects." In it were concisely enumerated Lord Dundonald's services as a British naval officer, and the hardships brought upon him by the unmerited Stock Exchange trial. The pamphlet was published in February, 1847, and immediately excited considerable attention. "I hope the difficulties which

have prevented the realization of your wishes may be removed shortly," wrote Sir Thomas Hastings on the 2nd of March. "But services so distinguished, and a career so splendid and full of professional instruction as your lordship's, can never be blotted out or rendered dim in the annals of the naval history of our country." "I have had the kindest note possible from the Marquess of Lansdowne," said Lord Dundonald, in a letter written on the 27th of April. "Lord Auckland was at our house on Saturday, and spoke in the kindest and most feeling manner. I hear from all quarters that the pamphlet has made and is making a great impression, and I have every hope that all will end well."

All did end well. The public announcement, on the highest authority, of the value of his secret war-plans, and the consequent exhibition of his disinterested patriotism in so long preserving them for his country's use, followed by the bold appeal made by him to the public through his pamphlet, brought success at last to his long-continued efforts to obtain a restoration of his dignity as a Knight of the Bath. His best friends in the Cabinet, especially Lords Lansdowne and Auckland, had influence, though not all the influence they desired, upon other Cabinet and Privy Councillors who were opposed to the tardy act of justice. But they did not wait for the assent

of all. On the 6th of May Lord Lansdowne represented the case to her Majesty the Queen, and received her promise that, with or without the approval of her Privy Councillors, she would confer the next vacant Order of the Bath upon Lord Dundonald.

Fortunately a vacancy occurred immediately, through the death of Admiral Sir Davige Gould. "Lord Auckland has called," wrote Lord Dundonald on the 9th of May, "and informed me officially that the Queen has placed at his disposal the vacant Order of the Bath; and that, in conformity with the intention with which it was so placed, he was to deliver it to me." "I have information from the palace," he wrote a few days later, "that her Majesty has had conversation as to the justice of some further atonement for the injuries that have been inflicted on me, and that she said it was subject of regret that such was not in her power; but, should the subject be entertained by her advisers, her concurrence would not be wanting."

That further act of justice was never rendered; but Lord Dundonald rejoiced that the more important measure—that which, by restoring the dignity wrongfully taken from him, would do more than anything else to set him right in the eyes of the world—was at last adopted. "It gives me sincere pleasure," wrote Lord John Russell on the 12th of

May, in answer to a letter thanking him for the conduct of his Administration, "that the last act of the Government has been so gratifying to you. Your services to your country are recorded among those of the most brilliant of a war signalised by heroic achievements. I will lay before her Majesty the expression of your gratitude, and I can assure you that the Queen has sanctioned with the greatest satisfaction the advice of her ministers."

On the 25th of May—the order being dated the 22nd—Lord Dundonald was gazetted as a Knight Grand Cross of the Order of the Bath; and this act of grace was rendered more graceful by the personal interest shown by Prince Albert, who, as Grand Master of the Order, dispensed with the customary formalities and delays, and, on the following morning, caused a warrant to be sent to him, in order that he might wear the cross at the birthday drawing-room, which he attended by her Majesty's command on the 27th of May. Thus another step was made in the way of retribution for the injuries inflicted on him in 1814 and in the ensuing years.

"To-day," he wrote on the 12th of July, "there was a grand muster at the palace of all the Knights Grand Crosses, and many inferior Crosses, and I was installed. Lord Ellenborough was one of my sponsors, and the Duke of Wellington shook hands

with me, and expressed his satisfaction at my restoration to the Order. I am glad to tell you that the ceremony of knighting, of which I was afraid, was not resorted to; so my knightship dates back to the 27th of April, 1809."

In another effort to obtain full justice for himself, however, he was unsuccessful. The great expenses that sprang out of his long-continued scientific and mechanical pursuits had absorbed all his scanty sources of income, and he forcibly urged that in accordance with the precedent furnished by a similar grant to Sir Robert Wilson, in 1832, he was entitled to the arrears of pay due to him for the seventeen years during which he had been kept out of his position in the British navy. But his request was refused; and the heavy pecuniary loss, as well as other and much heavier deprivations, consequent on a persecution that has been since admitted to have been wholly undeserved, has never been compensated.*

* Part of a letter which Lord Dundonald received on this subject four years afterwards from Mr. Joseph Hume, though quoted in his "Autobiography," is too important to be here omitted. "I considered," wrote the great champion of public economy, on the 10th of May, 1852, "that you were incapable of taking the means that were resorted to by Mr. Cochrane Johnstone, and for which you suffered; and I was pleased to learn that you had been restored to your rank. I considered that act a proof that the Government which had restored you to the rank and honours of your profession, and had afterwards appointed you to the command in the West Indies, must have come to the same conclusion; and, until the perusal of your draft petition, I concluded that you had all your arrears paid to you as a tardy, though inadequate, return to your lordship, whose

Shortly after that event Lord Dundonald sought to be elected one of the Scotch representative peers in the House of Lords. Now that his load of unmerited disgrace was shaken off, he desired to resume his old functions as a legislator—and this with no abatement of his zeal for the welfare of the people; but with none of the violence which his own heavy sufferings at the time of their first and heaviest pressure had partly caused him to show during his former parliamentary career. Being now a peer, he could not return to his seat in the House of Commons, and being a Scotch peer, he could only sit in the House of Lords as one of the delegates from the aristocracy of his native land. Among these he therefore asked for a place at the election in September, 1847. He did not, however, begin to seek it early enough. Other candidates had, according to custom, obtained promises of a majority of votes

early exploits did honour to yourself, and gave additional lustre to the naval service of the country to which you belonged. . . . His Majesty King William IV. was satisfied with the innocence of Sir Robert Wilson, and he was restored to the service—was, I understand, paid all the arrears of pay and allowances during his suspension, and afterwards appointed to the command of Gibraltar. I was pleased at the result; and it would give me equal pleasure to learn that your application to her Majesty should be attended with an act of justice to you equally merited." Lord Palmerston subsequently, in answer to an application from Lord Dundonald—forgetting Sir Robert Wilson's case—said there was no precedent for such an act. Lord Dundonald answered that there was no precedent for such injustice as had been done to him.

from the electors before he thought of canvassing, and he was thus left in a minority. Many peers, however, who on this occasion were unable to support him, offered to pledge their votes to him for the next election.

A minor favour was at this time shown to Lord Dundonald, which afforded him real gratification. In 1835, he had been allowed by King William IV., to use the insignia of a Grand Commander of the Order of the Saviour of Greece, conferred upon him by King Otho. In August, 1847, he applied to the Cabinet for permission to use the title of Marquis of Maranham and the Grand Cross of Brazil, both of which had been conferred upon him by the Emperor Pedro I., in 1823. "I have to acquaint your lordship," wrote Lord Palmerston, then Foreign Secretary, on the 11th of October, "that under the peculiar circumstances of the case, which have prevented the application being made earlier, the Queen has signified her pleasure that you should be permitted to accept the Grand Cross of the Order of the Cruziero. With regard, however, to the title of Marquis of Maranham, it is my duty to state to your lordship that, after full consideration, her Majesty's Government regret that they cannot advise the Queen to grant you the desired permission. While her Majesty's Govern-

ment duly appreciate the services rendered by your lordship to the Crown of Brazil, they consider it to be on general principles so undesirable that distinguished officers of the British navy should have foreign titles, that they feel themselves compelled to decline complying with the request." "I beg to assure your lordship," wrote Lord Dundonald in reply, on the 18th of October, "that I feel more gratitude in being informed of the sentiments of her Majesty's Government in regard to my faithful and zealous services in Brazil than I ever experienced from the title conferred on me as the honorary portion of my reward for such services. As far as relates to assuming the title in my native country, I entreat your lordship to believe that I never entertained the intention."

A memorable occurrence soon followed. Now that his honours as well as his naval rank were restored to him, he had no reason for holding back from active service in his profession; and the Earl of Auckland, anxious to make use—as far as use could be made in peace-time—of his great and varied experience, and also to give further proof of the desire at last to render him all possible honour, was prompt in offering him fresh employment on the sea. "I shall shortly have to name a Commander-in-Chief for the North American and West Indian Station,"

wrote Lord Auckland on the 27th of December, 1847. "Will you accept the appointment? I shall feel it to be an honour and a pleasure to have named you to it, and I am satisfied that your nomination will be agreeable to her Majesty, as it will be to the country, and, particularly, to the navy."

Lord Dundonald did accept the appointment, rejoicing in it as a further step in reparation for the injuries by which he had been hindered, a whole generation before, from rising to the highest rank in the naval service of his country. He might then have achieved victories over the French which would have surpassed his brilliant exploit at Basque Roads. He could now only direct the quiet operations of a small fleet in time of peace. This, however, being the best that it was now possible for him to do, he gladly undertook. "Permit me," he wrote to Lord Auckland, "to assure your lordship that this gracious act has further tended to obliterate the deep and painful impressions made by thirty years of mental suffering, such as no language can describe; for, my lord, the agony produced by false accusations on an honourable mind is infinitely greater than merited infliction of death itself. I leave your lordship then to estimate the amount of obligation I fail to convey, and beg you will allow me to express a hope that your generous recommendation to her

Majesty will be justified by my zealous endeavours to fulfil the duties I owe to my sovereign and country."

"I have waited for her Majesty's assent to your appointment," said the Earl of Auckland in a letter written on the 3rd of January, 1848, "before answering your letter of the 28th ultimo. This assent has been most cordially given, and you may now consider yourself Commander-in-Chief of the North American and West Indian Station, and I may repeat that my share in this proceeding has given me very great pleasure, and that I am confirmed in my feelings of gratification by the terms in which you speak of occupying your proper place in the navy. I am glad for you, and I am glad for myself that I have done this just and honourable act."

Very hearty was the satisfaction expressed by all classes as soon as Lord Dundonald's appointment was made public. "I beg," wrote Mr. Delane, the editor of the "Times," earliest of all in tendering his compliments, "to offer my very hearty congratulations upon your appointment—all that remained to efface the stain of such unmerited persecution." "The communication you have just made to me," wrote the Duke of Hamilton and Brandon, "is most gratifying, and the First Lord of the

Admiralty has done himself immortal honour in appointing that naval officer commander in one hemisphere who had previously illustrated his name by his most brilliant exploits in the other. Everything I think has now been done to undo the foul aspersions with which you have been assailed; and I am sure now everything will be done that can most serve to establish the ability of the officer and the delicacy of the gentleman. I congratulate you most sincerely upon your appointment, and I hope you will meet with difficulties when you arrive at your destination. Don't be surprised at this my wish. It proceeds from knowing the ample resources of my friend to overcome them, and his constant desire to sacrifice everything to duty and honour." "I derive the greatest pleasure and satisfaction from your appointment to the command of a British fleet," wrote Sir George Sinclair, "an appointment not less creditable to the ministry than honourable to yourself. I cannot help contemplating with affectionate sorrow the portrait of our dearest friend, Sir Francis Burdett, now suspended over the chimney-piece, and thinking how happy he would have been had he witnessed this most welcome and delightful consummation." "Permit me the honour," wrote Admiral John White, "to bear testimony to the high gratification I felt at seeing by the papers the announce-

ment of your lordship's having taken the command of the West India and Halifax Stations. The whole British empire has expressed great joy at this justice having been done to the bravery of your lordship as an officer and your goodness and honour as a man." That last sentence told no more than the truth.

CHAPTER XXVII.

LORD DUNDONALD'S DEPARTURE FOR NORTH AMERICA.—EXTRACTS FROM THE CORRESPONDENCE OF LORD AUCKLAND AND OTHERS RESPECTING WEST INDIAN AFFAIRS AND EUROPEAN POLITICS.—BERMUDA.—THE FRENCH REVOLUTION OF 1848 AND ITS ISSUES.—IRELAND AND THE CHARTISTS.—THE DEATH OF LORD AUCKLAND.

[1848.]

LORD DUNDONALD left London for Devonport on the 16th of March, 1848, and on the following day hoisted his flag on board the *Wellesley* as Admiral in command of the North American and West Indian Fleet. On the 25th of March he set sail for Halifax, which was soon reached, and was, during three years, the head-quarters from which he proceeded on numerous voyages in fulfilment of the duties of his office. These duties were not very onerous or various. They were relieved, however, by much careful study of the circumstances and prospects of our colonies in British North America, and by correspondence thereupon, and on other subjects, with influential friends at home, and especially with Lord Auckland, the First

Lord of the Admiralty. From this correspondence some selections will be made in the ensuing pages.

"I am very much pleased with your letter of the 19th," wrote Lord Auckland, on the 21st of March, while the *Wellesley* was still at Devonport, "and the good spirit with which you look forward to your coming duties. I know how irksome is the succession of the petty duties which are incident to places of authority, and how far more attractive is the excitement of great actions to those who are capable of performing them. But even the first class of duties is not without interest, and carries credit as it is performed with justice and exactness; and I hope that for the second the necessity of great exertions will not arise. But it is always well that the possibility of their being called for should be borne in mind; and, while you follow the peaceful avocations of your station, I should be glad that you become acquainted with all its points of strength and of weakness. All the information and advice that you may give to me will be gratefully received and carefully considered."

"I hope," wrote Lord Auckland, three days later, "that the Mosquito affair will have been brought to a termination before your arrival, and that the necessity for the presence of ships in the Bay of Mexico will have terminated with a cessation of

hostilities between the United States and Mexico. You will then have the slave-trade and the fisheries mainly to attend to. You will learn from the Consul at Cuba whether the slave-trade is now actively carried on. It had for some time entirely ceased, but it may have revived, and, with good information and force for interception applied at the right time, I should hope that it will not require many of your ships. The fisheries will, for a season, be a regular and fixed object of attention. Though I feel that your number of ships is small, it is difficult for me to increase it. I hate to fritter away our men and naval strength on a multitude of brigs and sloops and petty objects."

Lord Auckland communicated to his friend many interesting opinions respecting the state of politics and the condition of affairs on both sides of the Atlantic. A letter from him, dated the 30th of April, had reference chiefly to the troubles occasioned at that time by the interference of Nicaragua with British commerce, which had necessitated the sending of Captain Lock, in the *Alarm*, to watch the course of events and compel proper behaviour by the turbulent state. "A 'little war' is always a vexatious thing," he wrote, "and our relations with the state of Mosquito, though they have long and ancient standing to recommend them, are strange and anomalous. But

the insults of Nicaragua were highly provoking. The detention of British subjects was not to be borne, and the spirit which has been exhibited by Captain Lock, the spirit and enterprise with which his operations were directed, the conduct of all who served under him, and the successful results which have been achieved, are all highly to be applauded. I am glad, however, that they have left the river of San Juan. I see that in 1780 Nelson lost by the climate there fifteen hundred out of eighteen hundred men; and I well know what is the effect of a low country in the tropics, particularly after exertion and fatigue."

The rest of the letter related to the turmoil excited in Europe by the deposition of Louis Philippe in February, 1848, and the less successful revolutions in other countries. "We continue to be on the very best terms with the Provisional Government, and there is a better disposition towards us on the part of the French people than there was at the first outbreak of the Revolution. I have therefore at present no apprehension of war. There is, however, this danger; that Germany and Italy are greatly disturbed, and that Austria and Sardinia are engaged in war on the side of Italy, and Prussia and Denmark to the north, and it will not be easy for France and England to be peaceful lookers-on. Besides which,

the Government of France will long be subject to popular gusts, and it is never easy to say in what direction they may blow. In the meantime, however, all wears the appearance of peace, and at home the chances of disturbance both from Chartists and Repealers have become less. We have only danger from the distress and want of employment which have followed upon the shock given to credit throughout Europe."

Unfortunately, most of the letters written by Lord Dundonald during these months have been lost; but something of their purport may be gathered from the replies to them. "I am very glad," Lord Auckland wrote, on the 28th of May, "that your thoughts appear to be very considerately given to the health of those that are under your command. You will, of course, have consideration for the ships that have served in the Gulf of Mexico, or other unhealthy places, and give them a turn in the north. I did not lose a moment in sending to Lord Grey your suggestions in favour of removing the convict hulks at Bermuda, and he has promised me that he will, without delay, issue orders accordingly."

Lord Auckland wrote again to his friend on the 23rd of June. "I have your valuable memoranda on the defences and dockyard of Bermuda," he said, "and I am greatly obliged to you for them, as will

be Lord Grey. I will promise to give them early and deep consideration. In the meantime I will press the Board to give immediate authority for the improvement of the drains of the hospital, and of the supply of water. I am greatly obliged to you for the steadiness with which you keep considerations of economy in view. The disinterestedness with which you regard the schemes which have been proposed for a new Admiralty House at Bermuda will give you authority in checking expenditure in other objects."

"The affairs of France," we read in the same letter, written while General Cavaignac was suppressing the June revolution, "are most unsettled. There is no confidence in any man or party, and there are discontent, and mistrust, and alarm. All feel that things cannot go on in their present form; but none can foresee what will follow. It may be a continuance of internal dissension, but in an aggravated form. It may be a disposition to external violence. At home the condition both of England and Ireland is quieter than it was." "There is more brightness in our prospects at home just now," wrote Lord Auckland, three weeks later, on the 14th of July, "than has been the case for some months. Commerce and credit are reviving; Chartism is dormant, and Ireland is less troublesome. And on the Continent

there is a more general disposition to return to institutions of order. I confess that I should be glad to hear that just at this moment there were a larger force than usual at Bermuda. The presence there of Mitchell* is apparently raising some excitement. Though I cannot apprehend any formidable attempt at rescue, yet the notoriety of a force being at or about the island may put an end to the vapouring menaces which are proclaimed, and prevent any rash or foolish enterprise that may be projected."

"Thanks to you for your letter from Halifax," Lord Auckland wrote again, on the 21st of July, "and for your last sheets on the defences of Bermuda. I did not think, when we parted, that the question of these defences would so soon come under serious discussion, with a view to their practical efficiency, but I do not yet think they will be put to the test by any formidable attempt for the rescue of Mr. Mitchell. Such apprehensions of danger, however, as they occur occasionally, do good, and lead men to think of and correct their weak points. What you say of the accessible nature of the southern reef surprises me, and strengthens your recommendation of gunboats as the means of defence which are least to be neglected. I only hang back in regard to them,

* The great Chartist who, having been tried and sentenced to transportation, had been sent to Bermuda in May, 1848.

as the Naval Department could not bear the expense of such defences for the many colonies that would require them, and they must be provided by the Colonial Governments. Our arrangements, however, may in some cases be subsidiary to theirs, and, wherever it is possible, the craft of the dockyard and other establishments should be so fitted as to be capable of carrying a gun. I am glad you sent off the *Scourge* to Bermuda. She is a handy vessel and well commanded, and the notoriety of her presence will not be without a useful effect. What you say of the character of the emigrants that are sent forth from Ireland to our colonies is but too true. Yet it is better that they should go than accumulate famine and disturbance at home. The present condition of Ireland menaces trouble and difficulty."

"I am quite aware," wrote Earl Grey, who was then Secretary of State for the Colonies, to Lord Dundonald, on the 3rd of August, "of the unfortunate tendency of the emigration to the North American provinces being chiefly from Ireland; but I do not see how it is in the power of the Government effectually to counteract the causes which are leading to the settlement of so large a proportion of Irish in this part of the British dominion. I fear this will, hereafter, be attended with very unfortunate results." "I beg to thank your lordship," he also said, "for

the important information you have transmitted to me, and for the pains you have taken in considering the subject of the defence of Bermuda, which I recommended to your attention before you left England. I am in communication with Lord Auckland upon this subject, and we shall endeavour to act upon your suggestions so far as we are enabled to do so, under the financial difficulties with which we have to contend."

In the next letter written by Lord Auckland to Lord Dundonald, on the 18th of August, he again referred to European politics. "There is, with regard to the Continent, more promise of peace at this moment than there has been for a long time past, and there is a tone of more moderation on the part of France towards other countries than I have ever expected to see. But she yet has within her fearful elements of disturbance; her Government is yet unsettled, and, whenever determined, it will be subject to strong popular influences, and there can be no security. I almost apprehend earlier mischief from the popular influences of the United States. They have had a task of conquest and annexation, and Cuba lies temptingly. The uneasiness of the black population of many of the West India Islands may lead to opportunities, and disagreeable events may grow out of such circumstances. But these are

matters of speculation, and nothing turns out as men think that they foresee. I wish that your squadron was stronger; for you are weak in numbers for the many points that you have to cover. Our home politics are rather more satisfactory than they were; that is to say, the dangers of Irish insurrection and of formidable Chartist outbreak are over. But there is still much uneasiness and disaffection in both countries, and the various events of Paris have given encouragement to strange enterprises. I apprehend, however, no serious mischief from these quarters at present; but we have in prospect a very general failure of the potato crop, and a very indifferent harvest, and here will be new causes of embarrassment."

There were many causes of embarrassment to English statesmen during the ensuing months. "For the present," wrote Lord Auckland, on the 1st of September, "there is a cordial and friendly understanding between the Governments of this country and France, and the chances of war seem to be distant. General Cavaignac seems to be a prudent and moderate man. But no one can predict into what courses the popular influences of France may force him, or what changes may on any day occur. The extreme Communist party is weaker than it was; and a Royalist party—for some king,

but not for Louis Philippe—is growing up; and between these is a Government of a republic and an army. The first political difficulty will be that of Italy, where the Austrians will not readily make any concession, and where the French will not readily see them again accumulate strength. It is to be seen whether their mediation and ours will be of any avail."

"The condition of the present French Government is precarious," Lord Auckland said in another letter, dated the 9th of November. "According to present appearances, Louis Napoleon will be elected President, not because he is personally esteemed, but from his name, with some parties, and because it is anticipated by others that his rule will be short, and that he will be made to make way for others." "The election of a French President is over," Lord Auckland was able to say on the 25th of December, "and has been carried at last with a rush; and we are to have a new dynasty of Napoleons. Louis Napoleon was supported by the army for his name, by the bulk of the nation because Cavaignac and the Republic were hated, and by the Legitimists because they think he may presently be overthrown. He is pronounced to be a foolish man; but his course has been lately one of prudence and perseverance, and he will enter upon power with good auspices. But he

will have many difficulties to contend with, and we may yet see many changes before the condition of France will be settled."

The Earl of Auckland, one of the worthiest and most generous statesmen of his time, Lord Dundonald's firm friend, and the friend of all with whom he came in contact, did not live to see these changes. Just a week after that letter was written, Admiral John Dundas, who had been his chief adviser on Admiralty matters, had to write to Lord Dundonald. "It is with great regret," he said, on the 1st of January, 1849, "I have to inform you of the death of Lord Auckland, after a few hours' illness. He was on a visit to Lord Ashburton, near Winchester, on Saturday—seized with a fit—never spoke after—and died this morning. You may well imagine the universal sorrow at such a loss, and I am sure you will join in that, for I know well the friendship that existed between you."

By Lord Auckland's letters, it has been shown that, among much else, Lord Dundonald made special study of the actual condition and the possible improvement of Bermuda, both as a convict settlement and as a centre of defence against any attacks that might be made upon the West Indies. He suggested various beneficial changes for the strengthening of its fortifications and for lessening its un-

healthy character by better drainage and other expedients. In all of these he was supported by Lord Auckland. But from the new First Lord of the Admiralty, Sir Francis Baring, he met with less encouragement. Bermuda had been made a subject of inquiry by a Parliamentary Committee, and the House of Commons being averse to any further expense, Sir Francis Baring was compelled to countermand much of the action that had been resolved upon.

With Sir Francis Baring Lord Dundonald corresponded on little but strictly official matters, and therefore their letters are of less general interest than those which passed between him and Lord Auckland.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

LORD DUNDONALD'S VISITS TO THE NORTH AMERICAN AND WEST INDIAN COLONIES, AND HIS OPINIONS THEREON.—NEWFOUNDLAND AND ITS FISHERIES. — LABRADOR. — BERMUDA; ITS DEFENCES AND ITS GEOLOGICAL FORMATION.—BARBADOES.—THE NEGROES.—TRINIDAD.—ITS PITCH LAKE. —THE DEPRESSED CONDITION OF THE WEST INDIAN COLONIES.—LORD DUNDONALD'S SUGGESTIONS FOR THEIR IMPROVEMENT.

[1848—1850.]

THE foregoing chapter consists chiefly of extracts from letters addressed to Lord Dundonald during 1848. In the present one free use will be made of his own journal of a tour among the colonies and islands whose interests he was appointed to watch as Admiral of the North American and West Indian squadron.* It furnishes much interesting information about the places visited, and has also additional interest as illustrating the writer's tone of mind and method of investigation concerning every object that came in his way. The journal describes

* Published in 1861 as a pamphlet, entitled, "Notes on the Mineralogy, Government, and Condition of the British West India Islands and North American Maritime Colonies."

his occupations during eight months, beginning with the summer of 1849, and includes reminiscences of less systematic visits to the various localities made during the previous year. Leaving Halifax, in Nova Scotia, on the 14th of July, Lord Dundonald proceeded northwards, passed Cape Breton Island to Newfoundland, the fisheries of which it was part of his duty to protect.

He entered St. George's Harbour, the chief resort of the fishermen and traders, on the 27th of July. "It is situated," he said, "in the angle of a deep bay between Aguille and Cape St. George, the town being on the promontory and having deep water close to it. No village can be better placed for the herring fishery, as these gregarious fish at the season of their arrival on the coast enter this harbour, as it were, into the cod of a net, whence they are lifted into the boats by scoops and buckets. With such slender means possessed by the inhabitants, the average catch amounts to twenty-two thousand barrels; but hundreds of thousands might be taken, were encouragement afforded. Salmon are also caught in the neighbouring rivers, which are alive with undisturbed and neglected trout. The barrels in which the herrings are packed are said to cost two shillings and sixpence each, and some new regulation requires additional hoops, which, to those concerned, appears

a grievance. It is said the herrings must realise ten shillings per barrel, in order to repay costs and labour, but the last advices from Halifax state that eight shillings only are offered by the merchants. The French, I understand, attend more to the cod fishery. They are not at liberty, if they adhere to the treaty, to draw nets on the shore. There is an American merchant here who deals in truck with the English settlers, and obtains from them about a third part of the herrings caught, which he sends to the United States in such of the numerous American schooners employed in the fishery as enter this bay. The unauthorised British settlers here are said to be very jealous of intruders, as they consider they have an exclusive right to the land and fisheries in their actual possession, and from which all are, by treaty, excluded. They seemed suspicious that the *Wellesley* might have some motive in entering the bay contrary to their interests. No person whatsoever came on board, nor did any one come off to the ship, even to offer himself as a pilot. Some persons were lately desirous to set up a saw-mill, which would have been important, as they obtain all their staves for herring-casks, &c., from abroad; but the sanction of the inhabitants could not be obtained. There is no magistrate or civil or military authority, no medical man, and, perhaps fortunately, no

attorney. Indeed, there is no law, though justice is done amongst themselves after their own manner. There is a neat little church, at which the bishop is now officiating, and the people who are resorting to it seem well-dressed and orderly."

On the 30th of July Lord Dundonald left the harbour, to pass round the sharp promontory known as Cape St. George. "About midway," he said, "a remarkable change takes place to the northward of the table mountain, where the vertical strata become in appearance horizontal along the whole shore of the projecting isthmus. The colour of the strata is chiefly grey, in parallel layers of varying hardness, as appears from its projections and indentations. I could not, without delaying the ship longer than I wished, procure samples of the strata, but there was no appearance of carboniferous minerals. The same layers were visible in detached places up to the tops of the hills, which are of considerable altitude, though that is not denoted in the chart. When we rounded Cape St. George on the following morning, the strata, which before appeared parallel, were observed to dip at a considerable angle towards the N.E., and seemed, where sufficiently exposed to view, to be split into large diagonal flakes. There is an island close off the shore, about five miles to the eastward of the Cape, called Red Island, which is of quite a different forma-

tion, seemingly red horizontal layers of sandstone, of a soft nature, as is obvious from the encroachments of the sea. The peninsula opposite to this island is of considerable elevation, as far as Round Head, whence it gradually lowers to a point about ten miles farther to the eastward. Here the level ground at first seems to be alluvial, but on closer observation indurated rocks are seen to protrude in flakes dipping into the sea. The bay formed by this promontory is of great magnitude. There are several islands at its mouth, and in the interior, but there being no chart, and no motive for entering it, we stood on towards the mountains on the main shore, some of which are very high. In many parts the contortion of the strata, and the confusion of all kinds of materials, are extraordinary. The sides of the mountains on the shore are clad with moss alone, trees of very stunted growth only appearing in the sheltered valleys. No visible portion of the shore seems capable of producing food for man."

From the western coast of Newfoundland Lord Dundonald sailed due north to visit Labrador. With its natural resources, and the neglect of them, he was much surprised. "The British possessions in Labrador," he said, "extend over a tract of country as great as the northern regions of Russia from St. Petersburg towards the Pole, wherein the Ural Moun-

tains compensate that Government for the sterility of the soil. I have often felt surprise at the indifference evinced by the Spanish Government towards developing the resources of its possessions; but it is with still greater astonishment I view the supineness of our own Government in leaving this vast tract unexplored, and its probable treasures undiscovered."

Similar complaints were suggested to him by his observations on the eastern side of Newfoundland, to which he sailed down on the 6th of August. "We passed several ports, wherein there were numerous French ships and square-rigged vessels dismantled, and schooners and multitudes of fishing-boats in full activity in the offing. These schooners and fishing-boats are manned by the crews of the large French vessels which are laid up in port, and constitute depôts as well as the means of transporting the produce of the fishery to France, an arrangement highly advantageous to the French marine, and which we erroneously abandoned by erecting Newfoundland into a Colonial Government, thus surrendering our deep-sea fishery entirely, even without rendering the inshore fishery available to the newly-erected colony, throughout which it languishes from want of stimulus, or an adequate reward, even to induce the impoverished inhabitants of the shore to avail themselves of their small and almost costless boats to catch

fish, which, by reason of the bounties given by France and America, are unsaleable with profit in any country in Europe. It is grievous to observe the difference in the mode of carrying on the British fishery compared to that of the French. The former in rudely-constructed skiffs, with a couple of destitute-looking beings in party-coloured rags; the latter in fine, well-equipped schooners, which may be called tenders to their larger ships, the seamen uniformly dressed in blue, with Joinville hats, looking as men ought and may be expected to look whose interests and those of the parent State are understood to be in unison, and attended to as such."

At St. John's, Newfoundland, Lord Dundonald made some stay before sailing down to Sydney, in Cape Breton. Then he returned to Halifax, to go thence for a second visit to Bermuda.

Respecting Bermuda, as we have seen, he had much correspondence. "This island," he now said, "ever since the discovery of the opening in the reefs by Captain Hurd, has been deemed of much naval importance, and plans were formed by the highest military authorities for its defence. A naval arsenal also has been designed for the accommodation of a large establishment of ships of war. Distant islands, however, cannot be defended on principles which would be the most judicious at home—by the erection

of forts in all quarters that could be occupied by an enemy. It is obvious that, under the circumstances of Bermuda, troops cannot be spared from the parent State permanently to garrison the multitude of forts which, on such a principle of defence, would be requisite. If they could, the expense would be enormous, and therefore I cannot dismiss this subject without an expression of my satisfaction at the intelligence I lately received that such extravagant and unavailing system of fortification has been suspended. In my opinion it is a great error to imagine that naval officers are unfit to be consulted respecting maritime defences; had it not been for so mistaken a notion many hundreds of thousands of pounds, perhaps I might say a million, might have been saved. I unhesitatingly assert that gunboats not only would suffice, but are by far the most available, and infinitely the cheapest defensive force amongst the rocks around the island of Bermuda. The coloured population of this island are a fine race, incomparably superior to the generality of the coloured population in the West Indies. They are accustomed to navigate in their commercial vessels: their lives are almost spent in boats, and no better crews could be got for the defence of their own island than they would prove themselves to be."

"The existence of this solitary island so far from

the continent of North America," we further read in Lord Dundonald's journal, "is a circumstance meriting the attention of geologists, as well as the uniform material of which it is composed. It is all of a calcareous nature, but differing in condition from any of the other islands of the same substance. The strata are exposed in the perpendicular cliffs on the sea-shore in numerous precipices, from a hundred feet to minor altitudes, and are composed either of the most minute shells, or of parts of shells so triturated that they scarcely indicate their origin. In some places, however, there are laminæ containing shells in a more perfect state, all of a white colour, with the exception of one (which I found on digging a cave) of a semicircular shape, of a red colour, and almost as large as an oyster shell. The whole of the substance of Bermuda can be burnt into good lime; but there is an indurated calcareous stone, often containing many perfect shells, on the island on which the naval yard is being built, which is preferred as more adhesive and better in quality. Although there are no indications of volcanic products on this island, yet it exhibits manifest proofs that volcanic force has raised it from the depths of the ocean. In what stage of induration it was at that period it is difficult to conjecture. The hills and vales throughout the whole extent of Bermuda have the stratified

calcareous material generally conforming on all sides to the inclination of the surface. There are, however, many situations in which the strata present themselves as manifestly broken by force. In the deep cutting in the road which enters into the enclosure around the Government House, one of these breaks appears at the apex of the hill, dividing its sides, which here incline towards the centre, exposing a wedge-formed supplementary part that fills up the interstice. In the grounds of the Admiralty House curious instances of unconformable strata are laid bare in old quarries. These indicate some other cause for their nonconformity than that before assigned, and I am quite at a loss to imagine how the stratified materials could have been placed one above another at such different angles by the action of water, or in any other way, without appearance of disruption. There are caves upon this island containing large stalactites. There is one on Tucker's Island where these stalactites reach from the top of the cave far below the surface of the salt water it contains. I am not aware of any other instance where similar crystalisations have taken place under the sea water. It seems to lead to the belief that this island was at some time less submerged. There are other caves much larger, and one which goes in so far that the officers who accompanied me did not scramble to its

end. This cave is formed by two large masses of calcareous matter having been reared up one against the other. I have seen some very beautiful crystallisations taken from another cave recently found in a quarry at Ireland Island; but the absence of petrifactions here (for I have never seen one) constitutes a remarkable difference between this formation and that on the island of Antigua, where the roads are almost made with petrifactions.

"In clearing the surface of the rock, as has lately been done at the quarries, and in laying the foundation of the new convict barracks, the most irregular formation is exposed. Large holes are found contiguous to each other in the white calcareous rock, which are filled with a substance resembling chocolate in its colour, unlike everything else upon the island."

From Bermuda Lord Dundonald sailed down to Barbadoes, where he arrived on the 5th of February. "The negroes," he said, "who are much more numerous on this island than on any other of the West Indies, appear to be well fed, and cheery in their dispositions. They live in small wooden houses resting on clumps of wood or blocks of stone, a mode of construction which enables them, when tired of or displeased with their locality, to transport them elsewhere. I was told that a street of stone huts, constructed for their use, is almost abandoned, by

reason of the immobility of such residences. I consider this locomotive propensity a favourable trait in their character. Behind the barracks we stopped at a hut on the rising ground whereon the barracks ought to have been placed, and assuredly I never saw a more contented scene. There was a young negro, and, I believe, his wife, together with an old woman, perhaps the grandmother of the child she fondled. We made inquiry as to their mode of living, and they showed us green peas, seasoned with red pepper, ready to be cooked, yams, and cassava bread, as good as oatmeal cakes. These peas grow on large bushes, and vegetables of all kinds surround their hut."

From Barbadoes Lord Dundonald proceeded by way of Tobago to Trinidad. "On the morning of the 11th of February," he said, "we weighed and returned through the Dragon's Mouth, shaping our course for the great natural curiosity of Trinidad, the Pitch Lake, which I hoped might be rendered useful for fuel for our steam-ships—so important in the event of war—as fuel is only obtained at present from Europe. The United States and Nova Scotia are never resorted to; hence, could this pitch be rendered applicable as fuel, our vessels would be supplied when an enemy would be almost deprived of the use of steam in these seas. We arrived at La Brea, and before daybreak on the following morning

we were on the road to the lake, or rather on a stream of bitumen (now indurated) which in former ages overflowed the lake. Indeed the bitumen beneath this road seems still to be on the move, as shown by curvilineal ridges on its surface, like waves receding from a stone thrown into water. The appearance of the lake is most extraordinary. One vast sheet of bitumen extends until lost amidst luxuriant vegetation. Its circumference is full three miles, exclusive of the creeks, which double the extent. The bituminous surface is of a dark brown, waxy consistence; except in one or two places where the fluid still exudes; obviously this spring is in full vigour beneath, for the whole surface of the lake is formed into protuberances like the segments of a globe pressed together, having hollows between filled with rain-water, which (except in the immediate vicinity of the bituminous springs) is inodorous and without taste—an extraordinary fact, showing that this bitumen is of a nature quite different from that of pyrotechnic mineral or vegetable tar. In its dry state it is quite insoluble in water, though when charged with essential oil, as it exudes from nature's laboratory, it imparts a pungent and unpleasant taste. A considerable quantity of gas bubbles up through these bituminous springs, showing that decomposition is still active amongst the materials whence it exudes.

Some of the recent bitumen has an odour resembling vegetable gum. Mr. Johnson, the very obliging proprietor of a neighbouring estate, had the goodness to cause some of his labourers and a cart to bring samples to the beach. Means of transport, however, were so inadequate, that we had recourse to digging the more impure pitch on the beach, in order to prosecute our trials for its substitution as fuel. This bitumen, which had flowed upwards of a mile from the lake, was combined with earthy and other substances which it had encountered in its course. Various attempts have heretofore been made to apply the bitumen to useful purposes, but without success, as we may judge from the total abandonment of those trials and expectations which for a brief period induced its shipment to England with a view to its application to the pavements of London and other cities. All excavation has consequently ceased, and so low is the estimation in which the bitumen is held, that the duty on embarkation is only one halfpenny per ton. The nature of this bitumen is very different from that of coal. When exposed to a naked fire it becomes fluid, and runs through the bars before gas is disengaged, or at least before it is raised to a temperature at which it will ignite; perhaps it requires more or purer air than enters through the bars of steamboat furnaces—a conjecture which seems to

be confirmed by the dense smoke speedily produced."

"The plains of Trinidad," wrote Lord Dundonald, "have a fertile soil, which, simply by clearing the ground, is capable of being rendered the most productive in the West India Islands for the growth of sugar and whatever can be cultivated in a climate most uniform in its temperature, most congenial to tropical plants, free from the evils of hurricanes and from all impediments to vegetation. I am confident that, if the hands of the Governor were not bound by restrictions and routine, the progress of Trinidad would soon verify this opinion. Lord Harris, the present Governor, nobly tendered a portion of his official income in alleviation of the burthens which are so severely felt in the present depressed state of agriculture and commerce, but from some cause his lordship's liberal intention was not realized. The example would have proved salutary, as it must have been followed by reductions throughout other West India Islands, whose resources are even in a worse state than those of Trinidad. Is it reasonable, whilst the ground has ceased to be cultivated because production is unprofitable, not only that the land should continue to be taxed at the rate it was in prosperous times, but that a duty should be levied on the exportation of its produce? Is it reasonable that

whilst householders can obtain no rent, and have no income save the bare means of providing a scanty subsistence, they should be assessed at the rack-rent of former valuation? Can any property be more entitled to protection than that of the owners of the soil or of the dwellings they inhabit? And yet all these, as appears by the numerous gazetted sales, are sacrificed to the collection of sums, the bulk of which is uselessly and prejudicially expended. Whilst the Government of the parent State has alleviated the burdens on the productive classes, is it just that taxes on food and on all the necessaries of life should be continued throughout the colonies, and that even their productions should be intolerably burdened with local imposts, whilst complaints are loud and true of the absence of all remuneration from the sources which once constituted the prosperity of those now impoverished and oppressed possessions? The above observations do not apply exclusively to Trinidad, but to the whole of the islands, which scarcely differ in degree in the causes of ruin which seem irremediable by any authority except the legislature of the parent State. I am persuaded that the chief of the Colonial Department at home would endeavour to counteract the causes of widely-spread and increasing ruin, were he in possession of correct information; but popular representations of grievances,

often embodying misapprehensions as to their true origin, and accompanied by suggestions of impracticable remedies, are denied or disputed in counter-statements by interested officials, so that the Colonial Minister is bewildered, and can form no correct judgment from such conflicting statements. I hold it to be impossible that the monstrous absurdities and violations of every principle of good government which exist throughout these western colonies could be tolerated an instant, were their consequences known and believed by those in power, or were they laid before the British public by any person on whose judgment and opinion they could rely. Can it be credited that even in the island of Trinidad, not only multitudes of valuable properties are brought to sale from the inability of their owners to pay the fiscal demands, but that properties are consigned to the Government auctioneer even for so small an assessment as three-fourths of a dollar? This is, nevertheless, the fact. The emancipation of the slaves was a glorious act, but the rescue of these noble possessions from ruin, and the restoration of prosperity to an integral part of the empire, would redound to the honour of any one who would successfully advocate the cause of reason and justice, not only on the principles of equity, but with the less noble view of gain to the parent State, as it is certain that the con-

sumption of British manufactured articles has fallen off in these colonies to an extent which has not been counterbalanced by the increase of exports anticipated from the questionable policy of concession to Brazil, in which I have reason to believe the supply of articles required for the slave trade constitutes a large proportion."

Reflections of that sort occurred to Lord Dundonald again and again, as, passing round from Trinidad, he visited all the principal British West India Islands, the last at which he called on his way back to Halifax being Jamaica. "No doubt," he said, "the generous and noble act by which, in the reign of his late Majesty, slavery was abolished, produced a prejudicial change in the economy of the sugar plantations, notwithstanding the large amount awarded to the proprietors, as the sums so paid were for the most part immediately transferred to mortgagees, leaving the proprietors in possession of the soil, but without the means of paying the expense of its cultivation by free labour. This is an evil which time has not remedied, and, of course, in the estimation of those who are, in consequence, losers, furnishes the pretext for imputing to the black population a degree of reluctance to labour far exceeding the reality. Those who pay a reasonable price for work, and are punctual in their payments, do not fail to get as many la-

bourers as they require. I assert this not from any vague hearsay, but from various unquestionable and authentic documents, amongst which are the examinations taken by Committees of the House of Assembly appointed to inquire into the causes and difficulties alleged to exist in the cultivation of estates. Whilst the poverty of the planters and the destitution of the labouring population is so universal, it seems most extraordinary on inspecting the Custom House returns to find almost every article of necessary consumption brought from abroad paying high duties on entry; whilst the concession of small patches of land to the negroes, whom there is no capital to employ, would, if accorded, produce food, and in a great measure dispense with such injurious importations. Is it reasonable to instruct the negroes in their rights as men, and open their minds to the humble ambition of acquiring spots of land, and then throw every impediment possible in the way of its gratification? I perceive by the imposts and expenses on the transfer of small properties, that a barrier almost insurmountable is raised to their acquisition by the coloured population. I have learnt that small lots of Crown lands are scarcely ever disposed of, though three-fourths of these lands are still in the hands of Government.

"It is lamentable to see the negroes in rags, lying

about the streets of Kingston; to learn that the gaols are full; the penitentiaries incapable of containing more inmates; whilst the port is destitute of shipping, the wharves abandoned, and the storehouses empty; while much, if not all, of this might be remedied. It may be asked, how is this to be effected? and I answer—by justice, resolution, patriotism, and disinterestedness. Never can this wretched state of affairs be remedied so long as taxes on the necessaries of life are heaped on an impoverished population. Never can the peasantry raise their heads with a contented aspect, whilst every animate and inanimate thing around them is taxed to the utmost. Not only is there a tax on land, and on the shipment of its produce, on houses, outhouses, and gardens, on horned cattle and horses, but on asses and pigs; and the severest penalties are enacted for concealment or suppression in the returns. Officials are employed for the gathering of pittances which do not defray the expense of collection. The harbour dues and exactions are such that no vessel, when it can be avoided, is brought into the Port of Kingston; consequently, though Jamaica is admirably situated, even more favourably than St. Thomas, the former port is abandoned, whilst that of the latter is filled with the shipping of all nations."

Lord Dundonald detailed the substance of these

opinions in a letter to Earl Grey, the Secretary for the Colonies. "I have to thank your lordship," Lord Grey replied, "for your letter. The observations of a person of your lordship's knowledge and experience upon the present state of our colonies are most interesting and useful to me. I am aware that there exists much distress in the West Indies at present; but I am sorry to say I do not see what Parliament can do towards removing it, beyond freeing their trade from the remaining restrictions by the repeal of the Navigation Laws, which I hope will now be soon accomplished. I own I quite differ from your lordship as to the propriety of restoring to the planters the monopoly in the British market they formerly enjoyed, and I believe that the permanent interests of these colonies would be injured instead of being advanced by doing so."

CHAPTER XXIX.

LORD DUNDONALD'S RETURN FROM AMERICA.—HIS ARGUMENTS FOR THE RELIEF OF THE NEWFOUNDLAND FISHERIES AND THE WEST INDIA TRADE. —THE TRINIDAD BITUMEN. — LORD DUNDONALD'S OTHER SCIENTIFIC PURSUITS AND VIEWS.

[1851—1853.]

THE Earl of Dundonald's time of service as Admiral of the West Indian and North American Stations expired in April, 1851. On the 31st of December, 1850, Sir Francis Baring wrote to inform him that Sir George Seymour had been appointed his successor. "It is with some regret," said Sir Francis, "that I have performed this duty, as it has been my pleasure to have been in communication with you, and to feel that an important command has been placed in the hands of an officer of your lordship's high professional character and merits. You must permit me, in making this announcement, to add my sincere thanks for the manner in which you conducted the duties of your position, and particularly for the valuable information you

have communicated to the Board, and the attention you have paid to the many points you had brought before you."

On the 14th of May Lord Dundonald left Halifax, and he reached Portsmouth in the beginning of June. During the next few years his mind was much occupied with the further consideration of various topics suggested by his observations and explorations on the other side of the Atlantic. It will be enough to make brief allusion to the most important of these.

Subjects of hearty regret to him, repeatedly brought under his notice during his three years' stay in the North American and West Indian waters, were the great depression of the British fisheries in the neighbourhood of Newfoundland, and the yet greater depression of trade consequent on the remission of slavery in the more southern colonies. For both he sought to provide a remedy. He urged, as has already been shown in the extracts from his journal, which was published, and attracted much attention, in the summer of 1852, that special help should be given to these colonies, not only by the removal of all restrictions upon their commerce and manufactures, but by protective enactments in their favour.

His reasons for this view, as regards the Newfoundland fisheries, in which he thought not alone of

the interests of the colonists, were set forth by him in a letter addressed to the "Times," in August, 1852. "Were not the question of maintaining our nurseries for seamen," he there said, "more important than commercial considerations, I should not venture, through your favour, to trespass on public attention regarding the North American fisheries; but, perceiving that impressions are likely to be made by writers, avoiding responsibility for erroneous opinions by withholding their names, I feel it a duty explicitly to state that it is not to the amount of fish caught and cured, to the price at which it can be sold at home or abroad, or to the number of persons employed in the fishery, but, to their nationality and vocation, to which I attach importance, in order that our fisheries shall form hardy British seamen in oceanic vessels, like those employed under the bounties paid by North America and France. These being the considerations, the question is not whether it is consistent with the enlightened theory of free trade to pay a premium which shall transfer capital from the pockets of one class to those of another, but whether it is wiser and more economical for the community at large to uphold such nursery, or to maintain even a skeleton of warlike establishments—perhaps to build, equip, and employ additional ships of war, squadrons, or fleets, to watch, perchance to

contend with, power thus cheaply developed by rival nations. I ask whether the bounty given to enable steam-packets to cross the ocean is more consistent with free-trade principles than a bounty awarded to our fisheries as a nursery for seamen. A colonial premium is indeed talked of, and by those unacquainted with facts, who do not foresee its operation, it may be deemed a substitute for a bounty by the parent State; but I advisedly assert that such colonial premium would not rear one disposable seaman for our naval service, and that even the colonial fishermen would derive no commensurate advantage, such is the impoverishing effect of the inveterate system of truck-dealing that boat fishermen, even from the harbour of the capital of Newfoundland, are chiefly paid by daily wages; the advantages derived from the employment of two half-idle fishermen being greater to the truckmaster, in the absence of an available market, than the like amount of fish caught by one customer. It is manifest, by the true theory of free trade, that it is unimportant whether the French and Americans obtain their bait and catch fish within our limits or not, or even whether the world is supplied by them or by us; but it is not so if foreign nations thereby rear, employ, and maintain in time of peace fifty thousand seamen, who, in the event of war, are at the beck of their respective

Governments, while Britain, the rightful owner, has not one available seaman from the fisheries. On subjects of such vital importance it is essential that general theories, however good, shall not be supported in detail by false reasoning, or by captivating appellations inconsistent with truth. Nine-tenths of our western colonies are still taxed on every article of food, and on all existing property, animate and inanimate; a state of things alike adverse to production and trade. Is it reasonable to imagine, if the interests of colonists are not considered jointly with those of the parent State, that they can continue to administer to our wants, comforts, and luxuries—above all, to our commercial nursery for seamen, the source of our national greatness? A Parliamentary investigation is indispensable to afford a chance of escape to these noble possessions of the Crown from impending ruin."

For the relief of the West Indian colonies Lord Dundonald was also anxious to obtain the intervention of Parliament; but he believed that he had himself discovered one source of possible advancement for them. His remarks concerning the pitch lake of Trinidad have already been partly quoted. Having first explored that lake in the beginning of 1849, he at once recognized the importance of its stores of bitumen, and much of his leisure from official duties

was employed in observations and experiments with a view to its being utilized. He was soon convinced as to its great and various importance. The decomposed bitumen that lay in vast beds around the lake he found exceedingly valuable as a manure; and he perceived that the liquid mass, of which boundless supplies might be obtained, could be put to many very valuable uses. Here he discerned the presence of a new material of commerce which might prove of incalculable benefit not only to Trinidad but also to all the other West India Islands; therefore he urged its employment, and, though but little heed was paid to his advice, the successful results of the few cases in which it was adopted fully justified his opinions.

After his return to England he also sought zealously to make his discovery beneficial to himself. He was to a great extent baffled by the obstacles common to new projects; but his projects afford curious illustration of the activity of his mind and the fertility of his inventive powers. "Used as a mastic," he said in a concise enumeration of the uses to which he found that the bitumen might be put, "it is peculiarly suited to unite and ensure the durability of hydraulic works. It renders the foundations and superstructure of buildings impermeable to humidity. It is admirably adapted, by its resistance to

decomposition by the most powerful solvents, to the construction of sewers, and, being tasteless, it is an excellent coating to water-pipes, aqueducts, and reservoirs. When masticated and prepared, it is a substitute for costly gums as applied to numerous purposes. Combined with a small portion of ligneous matter, it constitutes a fuel of greater evaporating power than coal, and, when pulverized and scattered over growing potato-plants or other vegetables, it prevents their destruction by insects or blight, and acts also as a fertiliser of the soil. Essential and viscid oils are obtained by various well-known processes from bituminous substances, but from none in such abundance and possessing such valuable properties as the oils extracted from the bitumen of the lake of Trinidad, as well as from the petroleum of springs still in activity."*

* The following patents, for the use of the Trinidad bitumen, were taken out by Lord Dundonald:—1851. "Improvements in the construction and manufacture of sewers, drains, waterways, pipes, reservoirs, and receptacles for liquids or solids, and for the making of columns, pillars, capitals, pedestals, bases, and other useful and ornamental objects, from a substance never heretofore employed for such manufactures."—1852. "Improvements in coating and insulating wire."—1852. "Improving bituminous substances, thereby rendering them available for purposes to which they never heretofore have been successfully applied."—1853. "Improvements in producing compositions or combinations of bituminous, resinous, and gummy matters, and thereby obtaining products useful in the arts and manufactures."—1853. "Improvements in apparatus for laying pipes in the earth, and in the juncture of such pipes."

The "Observations on the long-desired, yet still unaccomplished proceeding, whereby to effect the embankment of the Thames and free

While thus urging the importance of bitumen, and initiating many mechanical operations which have quickly and extensively been turned to the great advantage of society, Lord Dundonald was not unmindful of his older inventions and the arguments by which he had long sought to promote the naval strength of England. Of these inventions one in particular—that of his improved steam-boilers—had been largely adopted, and found highly beneficial during his absence from England, and its use continued after his return. From them he hoped, and

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the river from pollution," by the Earl of Dundonald, are especially interesting at the present time:—"It will probably be admitted that the Thames above bridge is unnecessarily broad, unless considered as a recipient for back-water; and that the long margin of shallow water between London Bridge and that of Vauxhall is of little importance, even for that purpose, as gravel, sand, and other substances, may advantageously be removed from the central bed of the river, fully to compensate for the water that would be excluded by an embankment of one-sixth on both sides of the channel.

"An easy method of accomplishing this object would be to cut a ditch on each shore, equidistant from the centre, and fill it with bituminous concrete, as the foundation of a parapet or wharf to be formed of similar materials. Within this a main sewer might be excavated, and constructed in like manner of conglomerated gravel and sand from the spot.

"It will of course occur that, although roads may be carried over the entrances of the various docks by swing-bridges, yet these entrances present obstacles to a direct line of sewers.

"To enable this difficulty to be overcome, very solid tunnels, floored with hard pavement stones, set in bitumen, may be caused to descend in subverted curves below the entrances of the docks, whence all matters deposited may occasionally be removed by see-saw locomotive dredges on wheels, worked either by mechanical power, or by the current acting directly on the dredge."

not in vain, that good would result to the general extension of naval science. He was cheered during the last years of his life by seeing the adoption of many of the views on these matters which he had advocated long before. Others have yet to be enforced.

CHAPTER XXX.

THE RUSSIAN WAR.—LORD DUNDONALD'S PROPOSALS TO EMPLOY HIS SECRET PLANS AGAINST CRONSTADT, SEBASTOPOL, AND OTHER STRONGHOLDS.—HIS CORRESPONDENCE THEREUPON WITH SIR JAMES GRAHAM AND LORD PALMERSTON.—THEIR REJECTION.—LORD DUNDONALD'S APPOINTMENT AS REAR-ADMIRAL OF THE UNITED KINGDOM.—PRINCE ALBERT'S INVITATION TO HIM TO BECOME AN ELDER BROTHER OF THE TRINITY HOUSE.—HIS CORRESPONDENCE WITH LORD PALMERSTON RESPECTING THE RESTITUTION OF HIS HALF-PAY.—HIS LAST WORK.—HIS DEATH AND BURIAL.—CONCLUSION.

[1851—1860.]

WHEN in June, 1851, he returned to England and surrendered his office as Commander-in-Chief of the North American and West Indian squadron, the Earl of Dundonald was in his seventy-sixth year. That he was still young and vigorous in mind is sufficiently shown by the illustrations of his inventive genius and philanthropic earnestness that have been given in the last chapter. The most striking proof of this, however, so far as he was allowed to prove it, has yet to be given.

Very soon after his return he sought to impress

upon Sir James Graham, then First Lord of the Admiralty, under the Earl of Aberdeen's administration, the value of his secret war-plans, and before long a special reason for advocating their adoption arose. Their efficacy had been frequently acknowledged by the highest authorities, but as England was at peace, nothing more than an acknowledgment was made. The outbreak of our war with Russia induced Lord Dundonald to bring them forward again in 1853. At first Sir James Graham declined to entertain the subject. The Government believed that Russia would be easily and promptly defeated by the ordinary means of warfare, and therefore contented itself with them. In this decision Lord Dundonald acquiesced perforce; but, on its appearing that the fight would be harder than had been anticipated, he again claimed a hearing for his proposals, believing that by their acceptance he could not only bring his own career as a British seaman to a glorious termination, but also—a yet dearer object to him—by so doing render inestimable service to his country.

In this spirit he wrote again to Sir James Graham on the 22nd of July, 1854. "Important aggressive enterprises," he said, "being now suspended by Russia, whose armies, on the defensive, may indefinitely prolong the war, and thereby expose our country to perilous consequences, resulting from protracted naval

co-operation, I am desirous, through you, respectfully to offer for the consideration of her Majesty's Cabinet Ministers a simple yet effective plan of operations, showing that the maritime defences of Cronstadt, however strong against ordinary means of attack, may be captured, and their red-hot shot and incendiary missiles, prepared for the destruction of our ships, turned on those they protect; a result of paramount importance, now that the forces in the Black Sea have been diverted from the judiciously-contemplated attack on Sebastopol, compared to the success of which any secondary enterprise in the Baltic would prove of very small importance to the successful result of the war. Permit me, therefore, in the event of my plans being approved, unreservedly to offer my services, without command or authority, except over the very limited means of attack, the success whereof cannot fail in its consequences to free and ensure, perhaps for ever, all minor states from Russian dominion. Personal acquaintance with Vice-Admiral Sir Charles Napier and Rear-Admiral Chads warrants my conviction that no feeling of rivalry could exist, save in the zealous performance of the service."

Sir James Graham's reply was complimentary. "You offer for the consideration of her Majesty's Government," he wrote on the 26th of July, "a plan of operations by which the maritime defences of

Cronstadt may, in your opinion, be captured; and in the most handsome manner you declare your readiness to direct and superintend the execution of your plan, if it should be adopted. When the great interests at stake are considered, and when the fatal effects of a possible failure are duly regarded, it is apparent that the merits of your plan and the chances of success must be fully investigated and weighed by competent authority. The Cabinet, unaided, can form no judgment in this matter, and the tender of your services is most properly made by you dependent on the previous approval of your plan. The question is a naval one, into which professional considerations must enter largely. Naval officers, therefore, of experience and high character are the judges to whom, in the first instance, this question ought to be submitted. Let me therefore ask you, before I take any further step, whether you are willing, in strict confidence, to lay your whole plan before Sir Bryan Martin, Sir William Parker, and Admiral Berkeley, who, from his place at this Board, is my first naval adviser? If you do not object to this measure, or to any of the naval officers whom I have named, I should be disposed to add Sir John Burgoyne, the head of the Engineers, on whose judgment I place great reliance. I am sure that you will not regard this mode of treating your proposal as inconsistent

with the respect which I sincerely entertain for your high professional character, resting on past services of no ordinary merit, which I have never failed to recognise. But my duty on this occasion prescribes caution and deliberate care; and you will do justice to the motives by which this answer to your request is guided."

To this suggestion Lord Dundonald readily acceded, and his secret war-plans were once more referred to a committee of investigation. Nothing, however, was gained by this step. "I have received," wrote Sir James Graham on the 15th of August, "the report of the committee of officers to whom, with your consent, the plan for the attack on Cronstadt was submitted. On the whole, after careful consideration, they have come to the unanimous conclusion that it is inexpedient to try experiments in present circumstances. They do full justice to your lordship, and they expressly state that, if such an enterprise were to be undertaken, it could not be confided to fitter or abler hands than yours; for your professional career has been distinguished by remarkable instances of skill and courage, in all of which you have been the foremost to lead the way, and by your personal heroism you have gained an honourable celebrity in the naval history of this country."

That letter was disappointing to Lord Dundonald;

but, as the value of his plans was not disputed, he hoped that he might yet be allowed to put them in execution. "Be pleased," he said in his reply to Sir James Graham, "to accept the sincere assurance of the high estimation in which I hold the kind and favourable expression of your sentiments towards me. It is indeed gratifying to perceive that the experienced admirals to whom you referred the professional consideration of my secret plan have not expressed any doubt of its practicability."

The report of the admirals, however, had as unfavourable an effect as could have resulted had they declared openly against the project. Week followed week without any successful issue to the efforts of the Baltic fleet; and added to Lord Dundonald's chagrin at not being permitted to achieve the desired success, was his distress at finding unmerited blame thrown by the Government, and by nearly all classes of the public, upon a brave and skilful seaman, for not doing what, with the means at his disposal, it was impossible for him to do. Admiral Sir Charles Napier had failed, through no fault of his own, in the project for attacking Cronstadt, a fortress of almost unrivalled strength, and, by reason of the shallow water surrounding it, unapproachable by the heavy line-of-battle ships and frigates which constituted all his force; and during the months of his

necessary inactivity, and after his return to England, Lord Dundonald was almost his only defender. "In justice to Admiral Napier, against whom 'the indignant dissatisfaction of the nation' is said to be directed," he wrote in a letter to the "Morning Post," on the 21st of September, "permit me to say that success could not have attended the operations of ships against stone batteries firing red-hot shot, however easily unresisting walls may be leisurely demolished. There is but one means to place these parties on an equal footing, and that I confidentially laid before the Government."

"The unreasoning portion of the public," he wrote to Sir James Graham on the 11th of November, "have made an outcry against old admirals, as if it were essential that they should be able to clear their way with a broadsword. But, my dear Sir James, were it necessary—which it is not—that I should place myself in an arm-chair on the poop, with each leg on a cushion, I will undertake to subdue every insular fortification at Cronstadt within four hours from the commencement of the attack." And Sebastopol, he urged, could be as easily captured, if he were only allowed to put his plans in operation. But it was not allowed. "Nothing new can be attempted at the present moment," answered Sir James Graham. "Winter will put an end to all active

operations in the Baltic; and I still venture to hope that at Sebastopol our arms will be triumphant."

Lord Dundonald, though pained, not so much on his own account as in the interests of the nation, at the way in which his offers were treated, persevered in making them. It was now too late in the season to effect anything in the Baltic; but the siege of Sebastopol was being carried on without any immediate prospect of success; and he yearned, with all the ardour that he had displayed half a century before, for an opportunity of rendering success both certain and immediate.

To this end he wrote again to Sir James Graham, and also for the first time to the Earl of Aberdeen, on the 30th of December. "The pertinacious resistance made at Sebastopol, and the possibility of events that may still further disappoint expectation," he said to Sir James, "have induced me to address Lord Aberdeen, saying that 'if it is the opinion of the Cabinet, or of those whom they consult on military affairs, that, failing the early capture of Sebastopol, the British army may be in danger, I offer to the discernment of the Cabinet my still secret plans of attack,' whereby the garrisons would be expelled from the forts or annihilated, in defiance of numerical force, and possession obtained, at least during sufficient time to enable the chief defences to be

blown up and the harbour fleet to be destroyed. If you will so far favour me, I should be gratified by having an opportunity of demonstrating to your strong mind, free from professional bias, the fact that combustible ships may be not only placed on a parity with stone forts fitted to fire red-hot shot, but secured from injury more effectually than if incased in iron."

Sir James Graham's answer was, like its forerunners, complimentary, but nothing more. "I can never cease," he wrote, "to do justice to your patriotic desire to serve your country, which is evinced by your desire to encounter, in your own person, the dangers attendant on your experiment, and not to transfer the hazard of the enterprise to others." But to the enterprise itself he would give no sanction. "Your plans," he said, "by my desire were submitted to the consideration of most competent naval and military officers, whose impartial judgment cannot be impugned, and, on the whole, they did not recommend the trial of the experiment which you are anxious to make. Neither Lord Aberdeen nor I can venture to place our individual opinions in opposition to a recorded judgment of the highest authority on a question which is purely professional. I see no advantage, therefore, in renewing the discussion with you at the present moment."

Had the "impartial judgment" by which Sir

James Graham held himself bound been adverse to the principle of Lord Dundonald's plans, or declared them to be anything more than "inexpedient in present circumstances," more weight might have been attached to it; although even then he could have pointed to the opposite verdict, given in 1847, by other judges quite as impartial and competent, who, while objecting to part of them on the score of their deadly efficacy, had officially announced their belief in the applicability of another part—the part of which Lord Dundonald now proposed to make most use—and recommended its adoption "when the opportunity of employing it may occur."

He therefore refused to be thwarted in his efforts to render to his country the great service that he considered to be in his power, and Sir Charles Napier's removal from the command of the Baltic fleet, in January, 1855, gave him an opportunity of offering to use that power under conditions that would relieve the Admiralty of all direct responsibility in the event of his failure. "I am much gratified," he said in another letter to Sir James Graham, "to learn that her most gracious Majesty has been pleased to reserve the high dignity of Admiral of the Fleet as a reward for services. Under this impression, permit me to solicit the favour of being allowed to contend for that distinction, not by reference again to opinions, which

may prove fallacious, but by actual experimental proof of the safety and facility of assailing fortifications by my secret plans. By them, the damage and loss of life sustained by the allied squadron in their late attack on the fortifications of Sebastopol might have been partly if not wholly averted, and probably a tenfold destruction inflicted on the enemy. If this is admitted—and I do not think it can be disputed—I hope you will allow me to demonstrate the general applicability of these simple, comparatively costless, and in my opinion infallible means of annihilating the power of all kinds of batteries that can be approached to windward within half a mile. These plans have been entertained and pondered over by me during forty years, and now again I offer to explain, to test, and to put them in execution."

Sir James Graham's answer was very terse. "I have had the honour," he wrote on the 23rd of January, "of receiving your lordship's letter, in which you tender your services to take command of the Baltic Fleet. I consider the tender highly honourable to you; but I cannot give any other assurance."

No other assurance would have been of any avail. The Earl of Aberdeen's Cabinet, having lost the confidence of the country, was dissolved almost immediately after that letter was written, to be replaced

by an Administration in which Lord Palmerston was Premier, and Sir Charles Wood First Lord of the Admiralty.

To Lord Palmerston the Earl of Dundonald wrote on the 13th of February. "The high position of our country being at stake on the result of the war," he said, "and our long-established naval renown pledged on the successful conduct of affairs in the Baltic, I addressed my kind friend Lord Lansdowne, who has been long conversant with the objects which, by his advice, I now offer to your lordship's notice as First Minister of the Crown, conjointly, if you judge proper, with that of the Cabinet over which you preside." He then briefly described the principle of his secret plan, adding, "I respectfully offer to execute this plan, and answer for its success, against Cronstadt, and against all minor strongholds in the Baltic."

Four weeks elapsed before that letter was answered. In the meanwhile Lord Dundonald, beginning to despair of a satisfactory hearing from any Minister of State, unless he was induced thereto by a popular demand, addressed a petition to the House of Commons, urging the importance of his plans, and praying for "a searching inquiry, to ascertain whether the aforesaid secret plans are capable speedily, certainly, and cheaply to surmount obstacles which our gallant, persevering, and costly armies and fleets have failed to

accomplish." His reasons for so doing he explained in a letter addressed to the "Times" on the 10th of March.

"Peace," he there said, "being desirable not only for the interests of our country, but for those of the world at large, and the negotiations now pending being doubtless injuriously influenced by the obstinate resistance of Sebastopol (which could be overcome in a day), and by the impossibility of successfully attacking Cronstadt by naval means (which might be as speedily reduced), I have drawn up a petition to Parliament in order that secrecy and silence on my part, and deficiency of information on that of the public, may no longer prove injurious to the success of our arms. Hostilities having proceeded so far, assuredly it is more expedient to reduce a restless nation to a third- or fourth-rate power, than be ourselves reduced. Let not my motive be mistaken. I have no wish to command a fleet of 100-gun ships, or to attack first-rate fortresses by incased batteries or steam gunboats. That which I desire is, first, secretly to demonstrate to competent persons the efficiency of my plans, and then to obtain authority, during eight or ten days of fine weather, to put them in execution. The means I contemplate are simple, cheap, and safe. They would spare thousands of lives, millions of money, great havoc

and uncertainty of results. Their consequences might, and probably would, effect the emancipation of Poland, and give freedom to the usurped territories of Sweden. Those who judge unfavourably of all aged naval commanders assuredly do not reflect that the useful employment of the energies of thousands and tens of thousands of men can best be developed and directed by a mind instructed by long observation matured by reflection ;—an advantage to which physical power, that could clear its way by a broadsword, can bear no comparison. My unsupported opinion in regard to a naval enterprise in 1809 proved to be correct. Every other undertaking in the British service, and as Commander-in-Chief in Chili, Peru, Brazil, and Greece, was successful, and so would the protracted and unaccomplished undertaking, so injurious to the result of negotiation, have succeeded, had I possessed sufficient influence to be patiently listened to."

The petition aroused much interest among the public, but was unheeded by the House of Commons, and therefore produced very slight effect on the Ministry. "My published petition," wrote Lord Dundonald to Viscount Palmerston on the 17th of March, "has brought me numerous letters, and, amongst others, a communication, I believe from high authority, that if I do know any means

whereby to spare the slaughter that must take place on storming Sebastopol, I ought to make it known. I wish I could impart to your lordship what I feel under the present circumstances, and how anxiously I desire that a speedy decision may succeed the lingering delays that I have so long endured."

A few days after that, chiefly through the assistance of his friend Lord Brougham, Lord Dundonald obtained an interview with Lord Palmerston, at which he further detailed his plans, and urged that they should be promptly employed in hastening a conclusion of the war with Russia. To Lord Palmerston he also wrote again on the 31st of March. "It has occurred to me," he said, "that the supposed inhumanity of my plans may have caused the use of the word 'inexpedient' in the report of the commission appointed in July last by the Admiralty, and may even now influence the decision of the Cabinet. Perhaps another view may have been taken of the consequences of divulging my plans, as regards the security of this kingdom." To these possible objections he urged that no conduct that brought to a speedy termination a war which might otherwise last for years, and be attended by terrible bloodshed in numerous battles, could be called inhuman; and that the most powerful means of averting invasion, and,

indeed, all future war, would be the introduction of a method of fighting which, rendering all vigorous defence impossible, would frighten every nation from running the risks of warfare at all.

Those arguments appear to have had some weight; but, after further correspondence, Lord Palmerston's Government, like all the other Governments to which they had been offered, refused to put the plans in execution. Further evidence in their favour was obtained from some eminent scientific men; and it was put beyond dispute that, though they might not have such deadly efficacy as Lord Dundonald anticipated—on which point the critics spoke with hesitation—they could not fail, if properly applied, in producing very important results. But it was all in vain. All that Lord Palmerston would agree to was to have the experiment tried on a small scale at Sebastopol, and by two Engineer officers who were to be instructed in their work by Lord Dundonald. Lord Dundonald consented to the trial, if it was conducted by his son, Captain the Honourable Arthur Cochrane, R.N. But this was not agreed to, and the whole project fell to the ground.

At that result Lord Dundonald was hardly more disappointed than was a large section of the English public. Friends and strangers, soldiers, sailors, newspaper writers, and merchants, wrote to him from

London, Edinburgh, Liverpool, Birmingham, Belfast, and all other parts of the kingdom, urging that, if the enterprise was not undertaken by Government, it should be executed by means of a private subscription. "I am perfectly convinced," wrote one, "that you can do all the injury to the Russian fortifications that you say you can do. If miserable jealousy at the Admiralty refuses you the means, take them from those who, like myself, are very proud to be your countrymen. I am not a rich man, but I shall gladly subscribe one hundred pounds to any scheme that you will propose and carry out yourself." "If your lordship will appeal to the country," wrote another, "in less than a week you will receive subscriptions to any amount. You will then be independent of Government routine, and the public will, without further delay, have an opportunity of testing the value of your invention, towards which the eyes of all Europe are anxiously turned at the present juncture."

Those suggestions, and the evidence afforded by them of a widespread sympathy in his efforts to render a last great service to his country, afforded real satisfaction to Lord Dundonald; but their adoption was quite impossible. As a British officer, he could not for a moment think of entering upon a warlike project independently of the State. There-

fore he left the work on which his heart was set undone, and soon—though by no means so soon as he could have made it—the Russian war was brought to a conclusion.

Whatever may have been the cause of the rejection of his offer to hasten that conclusion by means of his secret war-plans, the Earl of Dundonald experienced no lack of personal courtesy during the period of the correspondence, or throughout the brief remainder of his life. His closing years were cheered by many acts by which was nearly completed the tardy reparation for former injuries which was begun with his reinstatement in the navy by King William IV., and in which the most gratifying circumstance of all was the restoration of his honours as a Knight of the Bath by her gracious Majesty Queen Victoria.

"The death of Sir Byam Martin, and the promotion of Sir William Gage to the office of Vice-Admiral of the United Kingdom," wrote Sir James Graham on the 23rd of October, 1854, "vacate the appointment of Rear-Admiral. It is an honorary distinction; and your standing in the naval service and your gallant achievements entitle you to this reward. I have taken her Majesty's pleasure, and the Queen has graciously approved my recommendation. I propose, therefore, with your lordship's permission, that you shall be gazetted Rear-Admiral of the United

Kingdom." "I accept the proposed honour with gratitude to her Majesty and with thanks to you," answered Lord Dundonald, on the 24th. "Permit me, however, to express a hope that such distinction shall not preclude my further service to the Crown and country, which long and matured consideration on professional subjects assures me I could now perform even more effectually than at an earlier period."

A month later he was honoured by a compliment from one who, kind and gracious in all his acts, had never failed in showing towards him special grace and kindness. "My dear lord," wrote Prince Albert on the 26th of November, "a vacancy has occurred in the list of Honorary Brethren of the Trinity House, by the lamented death of Sir Byam Martin. It has always been customary in that corporation to have the Royal Navy represented amongst the Elder Brethren by one of its most distinguished officers. I therefore write to inquire whether it would be agreeable to you to be elected a member of that body; as I should, in that case, have much pleasure in proposing, as Master of the Corporation, your name for the election of the Elder Brethren. Believe me always, my dear lord, yours truly,—ALBERT."

"May it please your Royal Highness," Lord Dundonald wrote in reply, on the 27th, "to accept my dutiful and most grateful thanks for the honour your

Royal Highness is pleased to confer. I assure your Royal Highness that I shall ever look forward with anxiety to prove my devotion and gratitude to her most gracious Majesty, for signal acts of justice and favour, and to your Royal Highness for this highly-appreciated mark of your consideration."

A token of the estimation in which Lord Dundonald was at length held by all classes of his countrymen may here be recorded. After frequent refusal, on the ground of his age and love of privacy, he consented, in May, 1856, to seek admission to the United Service Club. Its members, thereupon, at once resolved, at the proposal of Vice-Admiral Sir George F. Seymour, which was seconded by Lieutenant-General Sir C. F. Smith, "to invite that highly-distinguished officer, Admiral the Earl of Dundonald, to become an honorary member of the Club, until the time of his lordship's ballot takes place."

In spite of compliments like these, however, it was his earnest desire that, before his life was ended, every shadow which had darkened it might be cleared away, and that he might not pass into the grave without the assurance that he was formally, and in every respect, acquitted of the unjust charges brought against him nearly half a century before. While one single consequence of those charges remained in force, he considered that he was not so

acquitted, and with this object he laboured to the last.

"I venture to remind your lordship," he wrote to Lord Palmerston, on the 26th of May, "that the undeviating rectitude of my conduct through a long life has already induced the Crown, in the exercise of its justice, to restore my rank and honours. There yet remains, my dear lord, a gracious and important act to perform, namely, to order my banner to be replaced in King Henry VII.'s Chapel, and to direct the repayment of the fine inflicted by the Court of King's Bench, and the restoration of my half-pay suspended during my removal from the naval service. Unless these be done, I shall descend to my grave with the consciousness, not only that justice has not fully been done to me, but under the painful conviction that its omission will be construed to the injury of my character in the estimation of posterity. Independently of the justice of this claim on its own merits, I venture to express a hope that your lordship will admit that, during my temporary absence from the naval service, my exertions tended materially to promote the interests of our country by opening to commerce the ports of the Pacific and those of all the northern provinces of Brazil."

The appeal was unsuccessful. The part of it having reference to the replacement of Lord Dun-

donald's banner in Westminster Abbey was considered by Lord Palmerston to be a question with which it was not in his province to deal. "With regard to the fine," he said, "I am afraid that there are no funds out of which it could be repaid, and I should doubt there being any precedent for such a proceeding; and I find, on inquiry, that pay or half-pay has not been granted to any naval officer for any period during which he may have been out of the service." That reply induced Lord Dundonald to write again to Lord Palmerston on the 7th of June. "I submit," he then said, "that, the fine being imposed for an alleged offence of which I was wholly innocent, it ought to be repaid, even if there be no special fund appropriated to such a purpose. The peculiarity of my case may account for there being no precedent for such a proceeding, if none there be. The same peculiarity may distinguish my case from that of all other naval officers to whom no pay or half-pay has been allowed for any period during which they may have been out of the service. I may have been the only naval officer unjustly expelled, and assuredly I have been the only one so expelled after manifesting, by various acts, a truly patriotic zeal for the honour and interest of our country. No other naval officer, after such acts, was ever expelled the service and otherwise punished

on mere conjectural evidence, since demonstrated to have been utterly groundless. I submit that instances have occurred of military officers recovering pay or half-pay after unjust expulsion, as in the case of Sir Robert Wilson; and I am not aware of the existence of any cause for a distinction in this respect between the two services. I feel the deepest gratitude and satisfaction that my life has been spared to a period when I may reasonably hope that the portion of justice yet due to me for the erroneous verdict and its injurious consequences will not be withheld. Of that justice, the first instalment, namely, the restoration of my naval rank, was granted by his late Majesty King William, and the second by her present most gracious Majesty, who, on the representation of my noble friend the Marquess of Lansdowne, was pleased to reinstate me in the Order of the Bath. For the third and conclusive portion of justice still remaining due to me, I cannot desist from looking to your lordship."

It is not necessary to detail the later correspondence that ensued upon this subject. Lord Dundonald found that the final reparation which he sought was not, then at any rate, to be conceded to him by the Government; and therefore he resolved to employ his last remaining powers in seeking from his countrymen that thorough justice which he

rightly considered would result from an honest review of the incidents of his life.

During 1858, and in the beginning of 1859, he was engaged in the preparation of his "Narrative of Services in the Liberation of Chili, Peru, and Brazil from Spanish and Portuguese Domination."* That work was immediately followed by his "Autobiography of a Seaman," of which the first volume was completed in December, 1859, the second in September, 1860; bringing down the story to the date from which it has been continued in the present work.†

* The following letter, dated "Buckingham Palace, March 4, 1859," gave pleasure to Lord Dundonald:—"My Lord,—I have received the commands of His Royal Highness the Prince Consort to return you his best thanks for the copy of your 'Narrative,' which you have been good enough to send to his Royal Highness, and upon which his Royal Highness will place a high value. I am directed further to say that it would add materially to that value if you would have the kindness to write in the first page of the accompanying volume that it was presented by your lordship to the Prince. I have the honour to be, my lord, your most obedient humble servant,—C. B. Phipps."

† Almost the last letter written by Lord Dundonald was this to Lord Brougham:—"My dear Lord Brougham,—I have the pleasure to forward you the second volume of my 'Autobiography,' in which you will find that use has been made of the kind expressions towards myself contained in your works. Of the injustice done to me I need not tell you, who are so well acquainted with the subject. If the accompanying volume succeeds in impressing on the public mind the sentiments so unflinchingly set forth in your works, it will have answered its purpose; and that it will do so I see no reason to doubt, now that the subject can be canvassed apart from political rancour. I am, my dear Lord Brougham, ever faithfully yours,—Dundonald." Lord Brougham's answer was dated from Paris, on the 31st of October, the very day of his friend's death. "I have just received your very kind letter, and I daresay the volume will very speedily

That his mind was full of vigour to the last is best proved by that autobiography. But the body was worn out. After two years of great physical suffering, passed in the house of his eldest son at Queen's Gate, Kensington, he died on the 31st of October, 1860, eighty-five years old.

He was buried in Westminster Abbey, where in his last moments he had expressed a desire to rest, in company with other great servants of the nation. A public funeral was not granted to him; but his son was permitted to conduct that funeral in a way worthy of his great reputation, and agreeable to the wishes of all classes of his countrymen. Through the personal intervention of her most gracious Majesty and the Prince Consort, moreover, who counteracted the efforts of subordinates, his insignia of the Order of the Bath, which had been ignominiously spurned from King Henry the Seventh's chapel, one-and-fifty years before, were restored to their place on the 13th of November. Thus his last and most cherished wish was fulfilled,

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reach me. . . . One thing I fear you do not come down late enough to relate. I mean the impression made upon all present when I took you to the Tuileries; and when the name of Cochrane, so well known to them (and which I cannot bring myself to change for your present title), was no sooner heard than there was a general start and shudder. I remember saying, as we drove away, that it ought to satisfy you as to your disappointment at Basque Roads; and you answered that you would rather have had the ships."

and another precious boon was added to the many favours for which his family can never cease to be grateful to their Sovereign and her noble husband.

The burial was on the 14th of November. The pall-bearers were Admiral Sir George Seymour, the Brazilian Minister, Admiral Grenfell—who five-and-thirty years before had been associated with Lord Dundonald in securing the independence of Brazil—Captain Goldsmith, Captain Schomberg, Captain Hay, and Captain Nolloth. Among the mourners was Lord Brougham, who had come from Paris to render this last honour to one who had been his friend through fifty years. Standing over the grave, and looking round upon the assemblage, he exclaimed, "No Cabinet minister here! no officer of State to grace this great man's funeral!" But the funeral was graced by the reverent homage of hundreds gathered within the Abbey walls, and of the thousands who, though absent, acknowledged that England had lost one of her bravest warriors and most unselfish patriots, one whose warfare had been marked by acts of daring rarely equalled, and whose patriotism had brought upon him sufferings such as few in modern times have had to endure. The solemn anthem chanted over his grave, "His body is buried in peace, but his memory shall live for ever," echoed far and wide, and awakened in every breast

keen sentiments of sympathy for what he had borne and of pride in what he had done.

Ashes to Ashes! Lay the hero down
  Within the grey old Abbey's glorious shade.
  In our Walhalla ne'er was worthier laid
Since martyr first won palm, or victor crown.

'Tis well the State he served no farthing pays
  To grace with pomp and honour all too late
  His grave, whom, living, Statesmen dogged with hate,
Denying justice, and withholding praise.

Let England hide her face above his tomb,
  As much for shame as sorrow. Let her think
  Upon the bitter cup he had to drink—
Heroic soul, branded with felon's doom.

A Sea-King, whose fit place had been by Blake,
  Or our own Nelson, had he been but free
  To follow glory's quest upon the sea,
Leading the conquered navies in his wake—

A Captain, whom it had been ours to cheer
  From conquest on to conquest, had our land
  But set its wisest, worthiest in command,
Not such as hated all the good revere.

We let them cage the Lion while the fire
  In his high heart burnt clear and unsubdued;
  We let them stir that frank and forward mood
From greatness to the self-consuming ire,

The fret and chafe that wait on service scorned,
  Justice denied, and truth to silence driven;
  From men we left him to appeal to Heaven,
'Gainst fraud set high, and evidence suborned—

We left him, with bound arms, to mark the sword
  Given to weak hands; left him, with working brain,
  To see rogues traffic, and fools rashly reign,
Where Strength should have been guide, and Honour lord—

Left him to cry aloud, without support,
Against the creeping things that eat away
Our wooden walls, and boast as they betray,
The base supporters of a baser Court,

The crawling worms that in corruption breed,
And on corruption batten, till at last
Mistaken honour the proud victim cast
Out to their spite, to writhe, and pant, and bleed

Under their stings and slime; and bleed he did
For years, till hope into heart-sickness grew,
And he sought other seas and service new,
And his bright sword in alien laurels hid—

Nor even so found gratitude, but came
Back to his England, bankrupt, save of praise,
To eat his heart, through weary wishful days,
And shape his strength to bearing of his shame,

Till, slow but sure, drew on a better time,
And Statesmen owned the check of public will;
And, at the last, light pierced the shadow chill
That fouled his honour with the taint of crime.

And then they gave him back the knightly spurs
Which he had never forfeited—the rank
From which he ne'er by ill-deserving sank,
More than the Lion sinks for yelp of curs.

Justice had lingered on its road too long:
The Lion was grown old; the time gone by,
When for his aid we vainly raised a cry,
To save our flag from shame, our decks from wrong.

The infamy is *theirs*, whose evil deed
Is past undoing; yet not guiltless we,
Who, penniless, that brave old man could see,
Restored to honour, but denied its meed.

A Belisarius, old and sad and poor,
To *our* shame, not to *his*—so he lived on,
Till man's allotted fourscore years were gone,
And scarcely then had leave to 'stablish sure

Proofs of *his* innocence, and *their* shame,
That had so wronged him; and, this done, came death,
To seal the assurance of his dying breath,
And wipe the last faint tarnish from his name.

At last his fame stands fair, and full of years
He seeks that judgment which his wrongers all
Have sought before him—and above his pall
His flag, replaced at length, waves with his peers.

He did not live to see it, but he knew
His country with one voice had set it high;
And knowing this he was content to die,
And leave to gracious Heaven what might ensue.

Ashes to ashes! Lay the hero down,
No nobler heart e'er knew the bitter lot
To be misjudged, maligned, accused, forgot—
Twine martyr's palm among his victor's crown.*

"Victor and Martyr." Those are the words fittest to be inscribed on the monument that will be set up in the hearts of Englishmen in honour of the Earl of Dundonald. Entering life with great powers of mind and great physical endowments for his only fortune, he made his name famous, and won immortal honour to himself by daring and successful enterprises in the naval service of his country, which none have surpassed at an age so young as his, and which few have rivalled during a long life-time spent in war. But he sought to follow up those triumphs of his prowess on the sea by peaceful victories at home over private jealousy, official intrigue,

* These lines, by Mr. Tom Taylor, were published in "Punch."

and political wrong-doing, and thereby he brought on himself opposition which, boldly resented, caused the unjust forfeiture of the rewards that were his due, and weighed him down with a terrible load of disappointed hope and undeserved reproach. Seeking relief from these grievous sufferings, and opportunity of further work in a profession very dear to him and in generous aid of nations striving to throw off the tyranny to which they had long been subjected, he entered the service of three foreign states in succession. But in helping others he only brought fresh trouble on himself. He rescued Chili and Peru from Spanish thraldom, only to find that the people whom he had freed therefrom were themselves enthralled by passions which even he could do nothing to overcome, and which drove him from their shores, barely thanked and quite unrecompensed. He fought the battles of the young empire of Brazil against Portugal, doubled her territories, and more than doubled her opportunities of future development, only to be cruelly spurned by the faction then in power, and denied the fulfilment of national pledges which a later generation has but tardily and slightly regarded. Harder yet was his treatment by the Greeks, who, having asked him to lead them in their contest with their Turkish masters, refused to follow his leadership, gave him no assistance in his plans for fighting on

their behalf, and, in return for the services which, in spite of all the difficulties in his way, he was able to render them, offered him little but insult. Thus more than half his life was wasted—wasted as far as he himself was concerned, though the gain to others from every one of his achievements was great indeed. Returning then to peaceful work in England, he chiefly spent the years remaining to him in efforts to win back the justice of which he had been deprived, and in efforts, yet more zealous, to benefit his country by exercise of the inventive talents in which he was almost as eminent as in warlike powers. But those talents were slighted, though from them has, in part, resulted an entire and wholly beneficial revolution in the science and practice of naval warfare. And, though many of his personal wrongs were redressed, he was allowed to die without the complete wiping out of the stain that had been put upon his honour.

Of this long course of suffering, it must be admitted, he was himself in some measure the cause. Endowed, as few others have been endowed, with the highest mental qualities, he lacked other qualities necessary to worldly advancement and the prosperous enjoyment of life. Truth and justice he made the guiding principles of all his actions; but he knew nothing of expediency, and was no adept in the arts

of prudence. Unrivalled strategy was displayed by him in all his warlike enterprises; but against the strategy of his fellow-workers he was utterly defenceless. He made enemies where a cautious man might have made friends, and he allowed those enemies to assail him, and to inflict upon him injuries almost irreparable, with weapons and by onslaughts which a cautious man would easily have warded off. Judged by the harshest rules of worldly wisdom, however, it must be acknowledged that these faults brought upon him far heavier punishment than he merited. And perhaps it will be deemed by posterity that they were faults very nearly akin to virtues.

The same want of prudence caused trouble to him in other respects. It led him, in furtherance of the inventions and other projects by which he sought to benefit the world, into expenses by which his scanty sources of income were very heavily taxed. It also sometimes made him the victim of others. Guileless himself, he was not proof against the guile of many with whom he came in contact. Every kind word sounded in his ear, every kind act appeared in his eye, as if it proceeded from a heart as full of kindness as his own, and he often lavished sympathy and gratitude on unworthy objects. But shall we blame him for this?

Kindness, indeed, was as much a characteristic of him as valour. While the world was full of the fame of his warlike achievements, all who came within the circle of his acquaintance marvelled to find a man so simple, so tender, so generous, and so courteous. When he was bowed down by sorrows that nearly crushed him, he sought comfort in zealous efforts for alleviating the sufferings of others.

Fortunate circumstances would have placed him in a station of universal honour, which he could have occupied to the admiration of all on-lookers. But the circumstances of his life were unfortunate; and therefore he had to endure such hardship as falls to the lot of few. The harsh judgment by which he suffered has already been reversed. It will be atoned for when his worth is properly acknowledged by his fellow-men.

APPENDIX.

(PAGE 161.)

CAPTAIN ABNEY HASTINGS'S LETTERS TO LORD COCHRANE

So much had to be said in the body of this volume in evidence of the insurmountable difficulties raised by the Greeks themselves to Lord Cochrane's efforts to aid them as efficiently as he desired, that there seemed no room, without wearying the reader, for there citing more than two or three of the letters addressed to him by Captain Abney Hastings. They have, therefore, been reserved for quotation here. Their publication is desirable for two reasons. In the first place, they show how Captain Hastings, whom all the historians of the Greek Revolution join in praising, was harassed, and his work rendered almost useless, by causes which Lord Cochrane, in a much more difficult position, was blamed for not overcoming. In the second place, they will serve as a contribution to the biography of a high-minded and valiant man, a sharer in Lord Cochrane's zealous efforts on behalf of Greece, and in the misfortunes incident thereto, of whose memorable career the world knows little.

I.

Karteria, Hydra, March 26th, 1827.

MY LORD,

The usual contrarieties of the machine prevented my following you yesterday according to your desire. Observing you went to Poros, I thought I should act in conformity with your

wishes by coming here to take in coals, and avoid all possible delay. I have got on board enough for about four days more. I have expected you all day, and not seeing you I have taken upon myself to depart for the service you destined me for; although I am not quite certain I know the exact station. I shall go off Grabousa and endeavour to find Captain St. George. I leave a letter here for the primates, requesting them to load a small vessel with coals for my return, which I wish to take in on the opposite side. This measure, far from occasioning delay, would be advantageous in that respect as well as having less close connection with the Hydriots, whose presence always has the effect of setting a bad example to the Greeks I have on board. I should feel obliged to your lordship to insist on this measure. Perhaps it would be advantageous for your lordship to decide upon the port you intend to occupy immediately, and send there all the coals and other stores wanted for your naval force. Since you object to an island in the Great Archipelago, I am of opinion, with Colonel Gordon, that Ambalaki is the best suited for your station. If all the coals were there, much delay would be saved to the steam-vessels. One of the causes our engine went so badly was that some fire-bars being burnt the fire fell through, and we could not keep up the steam; another was, I had taken up the paddles (which previously had two-feet dip) six inches; the engine consequently went faster, but the pumps would not supply sufficient water. I have lowered them again. Pray leave your further orders for me here, as I shall touch for coals as aforesaid on my return.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

F. A. Hastings.

II.

Karteria, Poros, April 9th, 1827.

My Lord,

I have the honour to transmit you an account of the *Karteria* steam-vessel up to March 16th, by which you will perceive that with the 500*l.* credit I have on Messrs. Baif at Zante, I still have a credit of 363 dollars in my favour. Not accustomed

to keep such accounts, there may be errors, but if any they are certainly against myself, as I may have omitted charging expenses; whereas, I have never charged but what has really been expended, nor have I ever charged anything for myself, directly or indirectly. Wages will become due again the 16th of this month, for which I shall require about 800 dollars. Having but a few days' salt meat on board, I beg your lordship to cause an order to be written, enabling me to receive such quantity as you may deem requisite.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

F. A. HASTINGS.

III.

Karteria, Scopulo, April 19th, N.S., 1827.

MY LORD,

Northerly winds prevented my passing Cape Doro until the 15th. Having spoken a vessel from Skyro, I learnt that an Austrian merchant vessel loaded with corn and ammunition for Negropont was laying at that island under convoy of an Austrian vessel of war, and that the corvette of Tombasi was there watching the merchant vessel. I touched at Skyro the night of the 15th, and found that the Austrian was gone, supposed for Syra, followed by an Hydriot schooner of Konduriottes, who is supposed to have made some arrangement with the Austrian to deliver the cargo to him. The Greek corvette had sailed, as I was told, for this. I arrived here the night of the 16th, and found that the brig and schooner were zealously employed on the service they had been sent upon. Having steamed more than I had at first intended, I was in want of fuel, and set them at work here to obtain me wood, which they have done with more alacrity than I expected during Easter holidays. The engine of course required repairs. I sent off the schooner to inform the vessels of the blockade, when I should join them, and appointing a *rendezvous*. I sail immediately, and hope to take or destroy the vessels at Tricheri and Volo to-morrow. I send this by the primates of this island, who carry a letter to your lordship offering their services. They have been apparently much oppressed in all these islands by the heroes of

the earth, and are anxious to obtain protection from the naval force. This island is fertile, and could (and could be made to) pay well for protection. The others have claims equally strong for protection. St. George, De Skyro, Scopulo, Skatho, &c., &c., have more than 2,000 Liapis quartered upon them at this moment. If Athens is relieved, these worthies might be turned into Negropont with much effect. I am told the Turkish transports are still at Tricheri and Volo, not doubting to clear the Gulf of Greeks *à force d'argent*—however, I hope to be with them to-morrow.

I suspect fuel could be obtained cheaper here than at Megara; and I see no reason for incurring the expense of transport of wood to Poros for construction of gunboats when a great majority of the Greek vessels are constructed here. The wood does not grow here. It is brought from Agora on the main. The deputies—*tout bêtes comme ils sont*—can inform your lordship of these things.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

F. A. Hastings.

P.S.—Having taken the coals out from between the boilers and side of the ship, I am anxious to fill this space with wool, as a protection against shot. The coals stowed there are an inconvenience for many reasons, and something is necessary to replace them as a protection for the boilers. If your lordship would be good enough to order Tombasi to procure me wool for that purpose, I think you would be ultimately satisfied of its utility.

IV.

Karteria, off Tricheri, Monday,
April 23rd, N.S., 1827.

My Lord,

I have the honour to inform you that in pursuance of your orders, I carried the squadron under my command, consisting of corvette *Themistocles*, brig *Aris*, schooner *Aspasia*, and schooner *Panayia*, before the port of Volo, the evening of the 20th. I found eight vessels at anchor in the port; immediately I directed the *Themistocles* and *Aris* to anchor off a battery at the point, and cannonade it whilst I entered the harbour with boats and

schooners. At 4.30 P.M. they anchored with much gallantry, and soon silenced the musket-shot from the battery. At the same moment I entered the harbour with the boats and schooners, and we shortly took possession of seven brigs: they were all on shore, and most without sails bent. However, by 9 P.M. we succeeded in getting out five prizes, three loaded with provisions and ammunition, two light; and this most fortunately without the loss of a man killed or wounded, although we lay at anchor in the harbour four hours and a half, exposed to the fire of the Castle of Volo. The ship has received no material injury, although several shot struck her. We set fire to two prizes we could not succeed in getting out; one light brig remains, but we shot away her foremast and did her such damage in her hull as will (I hope) prevent her putting to sea again. Last night I entered Tricheri with the boats of *Themistocles*, *Aris*, and *Aspasia*, to endeavour to carry out a brig of war, Turkish, of sixteen guns and two mortars, but found her protected too advantageously by batteries and musketry. I send the prizes to your lordship under the convoy of the *Aspasia*, and shall remain here a few days to endeavour to destroy the Turkish brig of war, and shall then return to join your lordship. I beg leave to assure your lordship before I conclude that in these affairs I have met with the most cordial support from the captains of the vessels under my orders, and that their conduct, as well as that of all the officers and men of the squadron, has been highly meritorious.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

F. A. HASTINGS.

P.S.—As the schooner *Panayia* will participate in the prizes, I have ordered her to remain on the blockade, although not sent by your lordship.

V.

Karteria, at Sea, April 24th, 1827.

MY LORD,

An hour after I had the honour of sending you my last letter, detailing the affair of Volo, I stood into Tricheri with the vessels under my command, viz., *Themistocles*, *Aris*, *Panayia*.

The Turks in this place had one brig-of-war which (erroneously in my last I rated at sixteen guns) mounted but fourteen long 24-pounders and two mortars; she was made fast in a smal bight, with a plank on shore and high rocks on each side of her, behind which were posted a strong corps of Albanian troops; she was likewise protected by a battery close under her bow and five other batteries in other parts. Four small schooners lay quite hauled up on the beach. To attempt to carry away vessels so posted and defended by men who wanted neither alacrity nor resolution would have been exposing the lives of the crews in a very unwarrantable manner. I therefore resolved to burn the brig, which we effected in less than an hour. I did not make any attempt upon the schooners, which I considered too inconsiderable to justify a loss in capturing them. In this affair the captains, officers, and crews conducted themselves all much to my satisfaction.

Inclosed I have the honour to transmit to you a return of the killed and wounded in this affair, which, I am happy to say, is trifling. I have left the rest of the squadron to maintain the blockade.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

F. A. Hastings.

A return of the killed and wounded on board of the Greek squadron, at Tricheri, April $\frac{9\text{rd.}}{11\text{th.}}$

Karteria, killed	. . .	one seaman, Ralph Hall.
Aris, killed	. . . .	one seaman.
„ wounded	. . .	two seamen.
Panayia, wounded	. .	one seaman.
Total	. .	two killed and three wounded.

F. A. Hastings.

VI.

Karteria, at Sea, April 26th, N.S., 1827.

My Lord,

Passing by Kumi, I observed several vessels at anchor there, and a great number of large kyekes, &c., hauled up on the beach. I stood in, and overhauled them, and found, as I suspected,

that a most scandalous and extensive commerce in grain is carrying on to that place with the Turks, chiefly in Greek vessels. A brig under Russian colours was chiefly discharged; a Psarian schooner was nearly full, and the magazines on shore were full. I set about loading the grain from the magazines, but was unable to take off more than one-third of what was in them; and I have good reason for supposing that other magazines equally stored are to be found in the town, about an hour's distance.

Here there were only a dozen Turks, who fled at our approach. In the evening no less than nine small vessels were seen standing in to Kumi. I weighed and boarded six of them; three being entirely empty, I allowed to pass; two I detained and have brought with me.

The want of men, of time, &c., has prevented my putting a finishing hand to this infamous traffic; but I have no doubt your lordship will see the propriety of sending a vessel of war without delay to destroy these depôts. It is idle to talk of blockading the Gulf of Negropont whilst such an extensive commerce is carrying on at other points of the island.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

F. A. HASTINGS.

VII.

Karteria, Poros, April 28th, 1827.

MY LORD,

Captain St. George going to join you, I take the opportunity of informing you, besides what my other letters contain, that my information from Kumi imports that Negropont contains two months' provisions for the army of Kutayi and fortress, and that all their hopes are in the Turkish fleet, expected daily. It seems to me of the first importance that the Greek fleet should be ready to encounter the Turks; and the Gulf is a place particularly favourable to the smaller, lighter, and more skilful party. Might I suggest, my lord, the propriety of sending a couple of light vessels upon whom you could depend to cruise off the Dardanelles, and give information in time? The corvette, brig, and schooner off Tricheri requested me to represent their want of provisions, and

the necessity they have of paying their crew regularly; many I suspect have already quitted them: with Greek sailors no arrears of pay can exist—hitherto they have been accustomed to receive their wages in advance; if they can be made to go to sea without that advance it is a great point gained; to omit fulfilling the engagement would be to ruin all confidence and oblige the sailors to return to their ancient demands.

With respect to Kumi, I beg leave to urge the necessity of sending a vessel (perhaps better Captain St. George than a Greek, who probably would not dare do his duty there, was he so disposed) to destroy the infamous traffic existing there. May I beg of your lordship to order here the Marine Tribunal from Napoli to adjudge the prizes taken; also to issue a public order respecting the distribution of prize-money, by which I may be guided in my payments? You will observe that in my letter respecting the affair of Tricheri I mention simply having burnt the brig-of-war without saying how. That letter being a despatch for publication, I thought it as well not to proclaim to the enemy the use we made of red-hot shot. It was by those I burnt the brig, and could quite as easily burn by the same means the largest ship ever built. Might I suggest the advantage that would result from using the same projectile from almost every ship? each vessel might as well as me have a furnace in her hold for the feeding of two of her guns—the effect would be tremendous. If the fleet was ready before the Turks came out, a slight excursion to Salonica might be attended with profit and advantage. I shall require a little time to repair damages. I have lost my larboard cat-head, my jib-boom, second topmast, main-gaff, bowsprit shot through, and the engine requires various repairs—the steam waste-pipe is completely gone, and I must get another made. I hope and trust your lordship has still the intention of forming a national fleet and a dockyard; without this your difficulties will be multiplied beyond measure. I merely mention this because I hear intrigues are on foot to prevent such measures. I, a stranger, who belong to no party, and who neither fear nor love the Hydriots and Spetziots, will tell you the truth on these points. Although your orders prescribed for me to remain a fortnight on the blockade of the Gulf of Negropont, I was forced to return—wanting ammunition, fuel, provisions, and various repairs. I shall use my

endeavours to be ready for sea as speedily as possible. Before I conclude, give me leave to congratulate your lordship upon your brilliant success at the Piræus. I have no doubt it is but a prelude to more important successes.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

F. A. HASTINGS.

VIII.

Karteria, Poros, April 30th, 1827.

MY LORD,

May I beg leave to present to you my very particular friend, Mr. Nicolo Kalergy? You will find him a young man of good education, talent, and, what is of still greater value, of great probity. I have known him many years, and esteemed him equally long. By his private fortune he is independent, and has consequently always refused to meddle in the intrigues he regrets so much to see cause the misfortunes of his country. So much for introduction. Mr. Nicolo Kalergy has been good enough to wait upon you to receive your orders respecting the prizes I have lately captured. These vessels contain grain chiefly, and therefore would in that state be of no use to you. Your commissaries must turn it into biscuit before it is sent to the Piræus. The Government has sent for the Admiralty Court from Napoli to sit here upon the judgment of vessels detained. As to the sale, I am of opinion that to appease the jealousy of the seamen a public sale should be held, and your commissaries purchase it if they please. They will thus always obtain it cheaper than they could buy it at Syra, and thus nobody can complain. I am anxious to receive from your lordship an order respecting the distribution of prize-money, and this, I think, should be public. Hitherto the Government has received fifteen per cent. upon all prizes. Of course your lordship will arrange as you think proper upon this subject; but if any part of a prize goes to the public purse, it is only but just it should aid in the payment of the wages of seamen. I am now paying a month's wages out of my own pocket, which I hope and trust your lordship will reimburse me, as I cannot continue this system. Anything can be done in Greece by prompt payments;

with arrears nothing is to be done. My friend has much and various information respecting every part of Greece, and can furnish you with much useful matter. I do not doubt but you will shortly appreciate his merit.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

F. A. HASTINGS.

P.S.—May I beg of you, my lord, to furnish me with a commission of lieutenant for Mr. Darby, the only officer doing duty as a sailor on board—in truth, he is no sailor, and does not pretend, but he is brave, diligent, and a gentleman, and has served with me for about four months?

IX.

Karteria, Poros, April 30th, 1827.

MY LORD,

I had the honour to receive your orders of the 28th inst.

Your lordship will have observed, by the letters I had the honour of transmitting to you, that the condition of this vessel is such as to render it impossible for her to put to sea immediately. Dr. Gosse last night was occupied sending you off 68-pounders, and I am happy to hear this morning that the monastery has fallen without them. I must again repeat how indispensable it is that this fleet should be in readiness to encounter the Turks, who cannot now delay long their departure.

It is with deep regret I see the extreme discontent existing on board the *Sauveur* brig, which seems to me to be greatly augmented, if not entirely owing to the Greeks being paid in advance and the English being in arrears of wages. In this country, my lord, I must repeat, nothing can be done without regular payments. By paying out of my own funds, when others could not be obtained, I have established the confidence of the Greeks and English in this vessel, as far as money is concerned; but I cannot continue to pay out of my own pocket. If funds are not forthcoming for the wages of this vessel, I must beg leave to resign. Whilst I am on board my people will always consider me personally responsible for their wages; and I must again remark I have suffered already much too

severely in my private fortune to admit of my making further sacrifices. Besides wages for the crew, I have various expenses here to repair damage sustained by the vessel,

I have the honour to be, &c.,

F. A. HASTINGS.

P.S.—It seems to me necessary to relieve the vessels at Volo, or they will quit their station. Greek sailors on board their own ships will not remain more than a month at sea.

X.

Karteria, Poros, May 6th, 1827.

MY LORD,

I do myself the honour of enclosing for your perusal two different extracts from public papers sent me lately from Zante. I am now ready for sea, excepting powder, of which I have only two quarter-casks of very vile French stuff, received from Captain St. George. Mr. Hesketh, amongst the other prizes made at Napoli, has brought some flannel cartridges for our guns filled, and forty casks of powder. Would your lordship have the goodness to cause an order to be sent me to receive this powder? There is still a great quantity of the stores sent out from England missing. I have the bills of lading, and can give copies to Mr. Hesketh, if you think proper to send to Hydra, Spetzas, and Napoli again to collect them. I suspect the Hydriots have now in their possession about one hundred and sixty carbines such as I have on board.

It appears strange to everybody here that all the Commissary Department should be absent. I am informed provisions are wanted, and yet nobody comes to buy the prize provisions. As every Greek is by nature a thief, things disappear daily; and if they remain much longer, nothing will be forthcoming. Already my Greeks have petitioned me about the prizes; and everybody acquainted with Greek sailors must be aware they will not go to sea again until they have been paid their prize-money. Till now there never was an example of a ship quitting her prize until sold and the proceeds distributed. I am sorry to be obliged to remind your

lordship again that on my arrival here I paid my crew one month's wages, due the 16th of last month, and in ten days more another month's wages are due, and pay I must, for, as I have frequently remarked to your lordship, no arrears can exist in this country. The wages also is not the only expense. I was obliged to purchase about one hundred tons of firewood at Scopulo. Fresh meat in harbour runs away with great sums; and when the engine works, it consumes about half a dollar a day of oil. Besides all this, I have been obliged to hire three carpenters for ten days to repair damages done in late expedition. I had a fluke shot off a bower anchor at Tricheri, and ought to have another one. I must get a new main-sail made here. It is disagreeable to me to torment your lordship with all these statements, but you must be aware that a vessel like this cannot be sailed without great expense. There are here a number of seamen from the brig who want to enter with me. I have as yet refused to receive them; but, if you thought proper to give me an order, I should then be justified in so doing.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

F. A. HASTINGS.

XI.

Karteria, Spetzas, May 30th, 1827.

MY LORD,

Having lost my two masts in a squall off Cape Malea, and having business at Poros requiring my presence, I have thought it the most expeditious way to go myself to purchase other masts at Hydra, and settle my affairs at Poros. I therefore do myself the honour to transmit to your lordship a report of my proceedings after you left me near Stamphane. At sunset I lighted the fires, and, as soon as steam was up, steered for the passage between Zante and the Morea. The wind freshening much in a contrary direction, I found myself about ten miles to the southward of Zante in the morning. About three A.M. we perceived a large vessel standing towards us from the Morea, and we went to quarters for her. I thought at first she might be the *Hellas;* but on approaching she stood back to the mainland, which made me conclude that it was a stranger; the wind increasing, I could not remain head to

wind, and made sail under the lee of Zante. In the forenoon I saw a large ship under the land far off steering to the south, which I concluded was a Turkish or neutral ship of war. The wind abating, I steamed up round the eastern point of Zante, and not finding the *Hellas* on the other side of the island, I stood towards Cephalonia, opening out the two Turkish frigates laying at Clarenza. In the evening I saw a large ship very far astern coming northward, and supposed she was the *Hellas* and the same I had seen in the forenoon under the land. At sunset I altered course and steered for Clarenza, and in the first watch we saw a good deal of firing in that direction. The wind and sea augmenting, I was unable to keep the ship head to sea, and therefore bore up for the *rendezvous* of Oxia. Not finding the *Hellas* at this station, the wind augmenting, the starboard wheel being out of repair, and threatening to come to pieces if not looked to, the water requiring to be drawn off the boilers, &c., all these things made it necessary for me to search a port. I looked inside Oxia, but found it unsafe, and therefore bore up for the Port of Petala, where I put things to rights as well as I could; but found on examination we had but three days and a half's coals, little water, and only a few days' bread. Under these circumstances, I felt myself called upon to return whilst the means were still left me of hoping to accomplish it. Having obtained an offing west of Cephalonia, I took off the paddles and sailed, which gave us an opportunity of again repairing the wheels—again in an unsound condition—and saved our fuel. The wind and sea calming, I got up my steam; and there being every appearance of calm weather, I stood within five or six miles of Modon, hoping to meet the two frigates we saw off there when we passed northward. However, we saw nothing but a brig inside the harbour, sailing close along the land. Late on the evening of the 28th, when rounding Cape St. Angelo, a squall from the high land carried away our fore and second masts, and left us in a very unenviable situation, considering we had but a few hours' coals on board. However, a breeze favouring us all night, we arrived here at ten A.M., 29th May. Upon the foremast we lost one man—Jani Patinioti.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

F. A. HASTINGS.

XII.

Karteria, Spetzas, June 7th, N.S., 1827.

My Lord,

I had the honour of sending you a report of my proceedings since I left you, and hoped to have found you here on my return from Poros, that I might receive your further orders. I returned last night, having been subjected to more delay and vexation than can be imagined or expressed, respecting the prizes taken at Volo. I could only procure one mast at Poros, sold me by Tombasi—others there were both at Hydra and Poros, but the proprietors would not part with them; I have therefore been obliged to purchase one here, considerably too large and expensive, but there is no remedy. I hope to be ready for sea in three days, but fear I shall have some embarrassment about money matters. The purchase of masts, of salt provisions, sails, &c., besides the pay due to crew, puts me to considerable straits, particularly as I had lent all the ready money I possessed to Kalergy to redeem his brother; however, I shall do my utmost to get to sea, and I am anxious to know how, when, and where, I can have the honour of rejoining your lordship. A fireship that departs to-day will deliver you this letter, and your lordship may perhaps think it worth while to send a vessel here with orders for my further guidance. May I beg of you also to add a private signal by which I may know all Greek vessels at a tolerable distance by day—also a night private signal?

The British squadron is assembled at Smyrna, awaiting the admiral. The camp at Phalerum is broken up, and General Church is returned to Egina. The puppet of Government is occupied voting for the nomination of ministers, if possible more incapable than themselves; they talk of going to Napoli—Griva and Fotomana propose this. The former as usual seized upon an American ship; and Dr. Howe, charged with the distribution of the cargo, applied to Captain Patterson of the *Constitution*, who is now at Napoli guarding it. I am sorry to add that Mr. Lee received a letter from England announcing that the *Enterprise* having sailed, her boilers burst opposite Plymouth, and she was towed into that port by a brig-of-war.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

F. A. Hastings.

XIII.

Karteria, Spetzas, June 9th, 1827.

My Lord,

I had the honour to receive your order of the 7th, enjoining me to repair to your lordship without delay, if ready for sea. A variety of circumstances (unavoidable in a country deprived of even the shadow of organization) has prevented my being yet ready to sail. I received my foremast on board to-day, but the majority and best of my crew has left me. I must look for others, and intend to weigh to-night and go to Poros, where I was tormented by hundreds to take them. Here I can get men—but shall confine myself to half-a-dozen, as I find it necessary to mix my crew. In going to Poros I shall not delay anything, since I shall be occupied getting up my masts and rigging there, making sails, &c., &c., *en route*, and I can water more easily at Poros than here. I have informed the captain of the brig that brought this, that if I am ready to sail before any further orders of yours arrive, I shall repair to Cerigotto, and there await instructions from you; if I am not at Cerigotto I shall be found here.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

F. A. Hastings.

XIV.

Karteria, Syra, August 1st, 1827.

My Lord,

In hopes of seeing your lordship here I have waited two days, since which, although not finished, all the work of our machinery can be done on board. There are two things which retain me, namely, money, of which I require about seven hundred dollars, and the fire-bars, which they continually civilly refuse me —acting the true Greek, or in other words, the dog in the manger. If your lordship remains long absent, I shall be sadly puzzled how to act. Without new fire-bars we cannot steam again. The local authorities here are so afraid of the Hydriots and Spetziots that they dare not take any steps against them. To leave this without the fire-bars is useless. If I can obtain these bars, and your

lordship does not arrive, I will pay myself the necessary sums to get the vessel out of this port, hoping you will reimburse me—but to go without the bars is only going to return again. What I can do to forward the service I will readily perform, and anxious enough I am to get away from this place.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

F. A. HASTINGS.

XV.

Karteria, Poros, August 19th, 1827.

MY LORD,

On my arrival here I wrote to Hydra to request the local authorities there to send me the necessary coals, since you do not wish the last cargo to be used. I have received no answer, and upon inquiring yesterday from persons arrived from Hydra, I find they are not taking any measures to forward them to me. My officer wrote me under date of the 15th from Napoli that he hoped to be able to cast the bars there, in which case I shall have to wait for the coals from Hydra. The impertinence of these shopkeepers has at length attained a pitch that is scarcely endurable—it is to be hoped your lordship will make them send the coals—[The remainder is lost.]

XVI.

Karteria, Poros, August 20th, 1827.

MY LORD,

I am delighted to find you have an expedition in progress. This vessel shall be ready to accompany your lordship, whether I can get the bars cast at Napoli or not. The ones we now have can be made to answer for twenty-four hours. I shall write to Napoli to order the engineers to be here by the 23rd, whether they succeed in casting the bars or not. The coals I wrote for from Hydra are Government coals, and it is well they should be used the first, as I have been informed they are greatly diminishing without our consumption. I should like to complete as speedily as

possible, and there is no time to spare between this and the 24th for shipping 100 tons of coal from Hydra.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

F. A. HASTINGS.

XVII.

Karteria, Poros, August 22nd, 1827.

MY LORD,

I am making a sail according to your lordship's plan, to becalm the hull of the ship, but want sailcloth for completing it. I understand M. Kœring has some in store; would your lordship be kind enough to allow me to take a hundred piques? I have a good deal of very bad French powder on board, and even of Turkish, I suspect, put into French barrels, which I received from Methana—could your lordship permit me to exchange it against English powder? It is of very great importance that our cartridge powder should be good.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

F. A. HASTINGS.

XVIII.

Karteria, Gulf of Lepanto, Sept. 27th, 1827.

MY LORD,

I have the honour to transmit you a report of my proceedings from the day I left you till this moment. Captain Thomas, of the *Sauveur*, joined me the 21st, and proposed with much gallantry to go into the Gulf in the daytime. The wind being usually out at night I consented with some difficulty, in consequence of the little dependence I can place on my engine, which might render it impossible for me to follow him immediately. The *Sauveur*, with gunboat *Bavaroise* in tow, and accompanied by two schooners (you had left to keep the blockade at Missolonghi, but who, contrary to my knowledge, thus disobeyed your orders), passed into the Gulf the evening of the 21st in most gallant style, in despite of the enemy's very formidable batteries and one brig of war and two schooners at the Morea Castles, and several vessels at

Lepanto. I attempted to steam in that night, but the engine failed me within two miles of the Castles. The next day, the wind being strong in, I attempted to sail in, but when within gunshot of the Castles the wind failed me, and it was not until the evening of the 23rd that I could get passed, towing after me the *Philhellene* gunboat, of whose commander I have always had particular occasion to be satisfied. All our damage amounted to a few ropes cut. On communicating with the Morea, the 24th, I was informed that the enemy had nine vessels at Salona, and there were three Austrians there, that Captain Thomas had attacked them the 23rd, but in consequence of unfavourable weather he had not made any impression, and that he was retired to Loutraki. I immediately despatched a mistico to desire Captain Thomas to join me with all the vessels he could collect; but not seeing him on the 26th, and fearing that the Turks might strengthen themselves during a delay, I stood in on the 26th with the gunboat *Philhellene;* but we no sooner approached than the wind came so strong out that we could not keep the ship head to wind, and found it necessary to retire. The Turks have at Salona a very fine Algerine schooner brig, of fourteen guns, a brig of sixteen guns, bearing an admiral's flag, three smaller schooners, two armed transport brigs, and two large boats with guns, and they have a battery on shore. There are also three Austrians. While under their fire one of my engineers was slightly wounded. I am now waiting for the arrival of Captain Thomas, for whom I have sent again, and preparing for a final trial.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

F. A. Hastings.

XIX.

Karteria, Loutraki, Oct. 7th, 1827.

My Lord,

Captain Thomas arrived here after our affair at Salona with the prizes, and sent off immediately to Poros for provisions and ammunition. I could not (notwithstanding your orders for him to remain only seven days in the Gulf) allow him to depart in the state he then was—having only five days' provisions, and four cartridges a gun. He received some powder and provisions

yesterday, and in consequence of your order of the 27th, which he received yesterday, departs immediately. If the length of time Captain Thomas has remained in the Gulf is contrary to your intentions, I am alone responsible; he was always anxious to depart. My crew is in a very discontented state, in consequence of the month being expired without their receiving their wages. Twelve have left me, and if I do not get money I fear the whole crew will follow their example. I have sent an officer to Poros for provisions, ammunition, and money, if possible. I understand the English are about to prevent any offensive operations of General Church, and if not, he would never be able to undertake any, situated as he is for money and provisions. This seems to render my remaining here any longer of no use. As soon as I can get any money and provisions and arrange about the prizes I will quit the Gulf; but as I have no orders from you where to go, I shall return to Poros unless you contrive to send me some directions in the interim.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

F. A. Hastings.

XX.

Karteria, Loutraki, Oct. 8th, 1827.

My Lord,

I have the honour to receive your letter of the 3rd, and am happy to hear that the *Enterprise* is arrived. I have also received one thousand dollars with the stores, &c., which are very acceptable. I despatched the *Sauveur* yesterday, according to your order of the 27th ult. I still retain the gunboats, which are very useful. I wish further orders from your lordship to know whether we are to remain in the Gulf, and if you wish us to go out. There is yet at the Castles a brig and three or four Turkish schooners. I do not exactly know their position. I intend to run down there one of these days and see what can be done with them; if close under the walls of the Castles, which are very strong, we could burn them some dark night if you would send me a dozen rockets. I would go with a small boat close to them and do their business. Mr. Hane announces to me that your lordship proposes coming up to Corinth, in which case I will do myself the honour

of waiting upon you, and receiving your further orders. I have despatched a gunboat to General Church to inform him of your intention, and to bring him here if he wishes to confer with your lordship.

I have the honour to be, &c.,
F. A. HASTINGS.

XXI.

Karteria, Loutraki, Oct. 14th, 1827.

MY LORD,

Mr. Hane writes me that the Turkish fleet is off Patras. From time to time I have received vague accounts of vessels off there, but nothing certain. I shall fortify myself either here or at the port on the other side, under the village of Pera Xora—I think the latter. I want fuzes for shells. A box was sent (I suppose in mistake for fuzes), but it contained blue lights. Pray give an officer an order to send me at least five hundred fuzes. In my last to your lordship I mentioned of what service rockets would be to us as means of attack on the enemy's vessels at the Castles; they will be of no less service as weapons of defence. Pray, my lord, let me have as large a quantity as possible. I understood you were coming to Corinth, which has detained me here, or I would by this have been at the other end of the Gulf to gain information, and see after the brig, for I fear Thomas is not too prudent. I have just been informed that much cannonading was heard in the quarter of Lepanto the day before yesterday. I hope no misfortune has befallen him. I have the two gunboats and one mistico out to bring me information, and I can receive nothing. Pray let me have the rockets.

I have the honour to be, &c.,
F. A. HASTINGS.

XXII.

Karteria, Port Strava, Gulf of Lepanto,
Oct. 17th, 1827.

MY LORD,

Not having received any orders from your lordship, I am still in the Gulf. In consequence of an order from your lordship

to Captain Thomas, I despatched the *Sauveur* on the 7th inst., and sent the gunboat *Philhellene* with her with letters to General Church, and orders to wait and bring me information how the *Sauveur* got past the Castles; for I was a good deal anxious on her account, and should have gone myself to give her any assistance in case of need, but that I understood you intended coming over to Corinth. Mr. Hane bringing me letters for General Church, I despatched the other gunboat, *Bavaroise*, with these, and also some for the *Sauveur*, in case she was still in the Gulf. Mr. Darby, the commander of the *Bavaroise*, had directions to bring General Church if he was anxious to communicate personally with your lordship. Day after day I awaited anxiously an answer, till at length the mistico I had sent three days ago to General Church, to learn something of the fleet outside, which Mr. Hane wrote me for certain was Turkish, returned yesterday evening, informing me that the *Sauveur* and two gunboats had gone out on Wednesday. General Church writes me that he positively intends passing into Roumelia, and wants my aid; but I am now quite alone (except the mistico, with whom I know not what to do). He continually applies to me for provisions, and will soon probably for money. What am I to do about him? Although wishing to aid General Church and the service in all I can, I must acknowledge I have no confidence in his intended movement, more particularly as he tells me he has no provisions, and wants me to seize by force what I find in boats. All I could get by this discreditable way of raising provisions would not certainly feed one hundred men for three days, and therefore could not aid General Church, and would be a gratuitous vexation of these miserable peasantry. If General Church had money and provisions, much is to be done in Roumelia, but without these nothing can be achieved anywhere. As soon as I have got the prizes back to Loutraki, and formed batteries, I will go and visit General Church, and learn more particulars. But I am very anxious for some orders from your lordship, having received nothing but the official letter of thanks since I left you. I write in haste, and beg your lordship to let me have an answer as soon as possible.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

F. A. Hastings.

XXIII.

Karteria, Loutraki, Oct. 27th, 1827.

My Lord,

I am ready to do all and anything for the good of the service, but I fear General Church has no means. I had him on board for two days, making reconnaissances round the Gulf, and from what I can gather, the money said to be at Corfu is a chimera. I suspect he has not a shilling anywhere, and cannot stir. He talks, it is true, of expeditions, and I have always assured him of my readiness to aid him, but we cannot be consuming months after months in the hopes of his receiving supplies. I must limit the period of his embarkation, and if he cannot then act, I think I shall be justified in quitting him. I shall try, however, to destroy the other vessels in the Gulf first. We are in great want of fire-bars. I am laying in a stock of wood, but we have not yet been able to succeed perfectly with it. I have taken out the bars and filled the ash-pits; this we find does better than with any bars in, but we cannot as yet keep up steam with it. I hope, however, ultimately to succeed —in fact our coals are nearly finished. To show you how General Church goes on—his gunboat has only advanced twenty feet from the beach, and yet he will not send away that swindler Allen, who commands her. I told him I would not meddle with her until he dismissed that man, and things remain thus. General Church, while on board, received letters announcing the unlooked-for destruction of the Turkish fleet; still I have not entirely credited it, and I am in anxious expectation of some decisive information about it. I am obliged to your lordship for the fuzes, and hoped to have had also some rockets. We are beginning to get short again of provisions, viz., biscuit. The loaded prize is condemned, with a ridiculous clause for me to pay the crew. They say nothing of the other vessels. I send Captain Hane to Egina, to hasten the condemnation of the light vessels and counteract the intrigues which I have no doubt Tombasi has recommenced. I shall also endeavour by him to have more biscuit; we have now but for a fortnight.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

F. A. Hastings.

XXIV.

Karteria, Loutraki, Nov. 8th, 1827.

My Lord,

The General Church has at length put himself in motion. Some provisions and money have arrived on the other side for him (I mean at Calamachi), and I hope to sail with it to join him to-night. I fortunately received a fortnight's provisions yesterday, when I had only one day's biscuit on board. After destroying, or ascertaining that I cannot destroy, the vessels at Lepanto, I will go outside the Gulf and blockade Missolonghi, Patras, and the Gulf, hoping the General will blockade them by land. I fear much, however, for provisions; I will endeavour to get some from the Ionian Islands; but money and everything else is scarce with me, —but I hear your lordship is in the same predicament, and therefore I cannot complain. May I beg of your lordship to grant a commission of naval lieutenant to M. Falanga, who has served on board this vessel from 29th March, 1827, and is a most deserving officer? he is the only sailor officer I have, and was always the only one of any use in that capacity. He behaved extremely well both at Volo, Tricheri, and Salona, at which latter place he was wounded in the neck with a musket-ball, while setting fire to one of the abandoned vessels. I may really say he is the only Greek I ever saw who seems to conceive what an officer ought to be. Although he would be a great loss to me, and I should be sorry to part with him but for his own advantage, I can strongly recommend him for promotion in the command of a vessel, since (as I hear) your lordship is in such dreadful want of officers to command. I am sure he would give you the highest satisfaction.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

F. A. Hastings.

XXV.

Karteria, Nov. 17th, 1827.

My Lord,

I have the honour to announce to you that, after much delay and disappointment—usual in Greece—I am about to proceed to Lepanto to-morrow, and endeavour to destroy the Turkish vessels

there. I then go outside, to pass General Church over into Roumelia, and afterwards blockade Missolonghi, Patras, and Lepanto. The want of the gunboats here is much felt by me at this moment, as, in going out, I must leave the Gulf to the Turks; who, even should I be fortunate enough to destroy the enemy's vessels at Lepanto, will always have here armed boats enough to command the Gulf.

I must also beg of your lordship to consider us in money matters. I am now seven thousand pounds out of pocket by Greek affairs, and I am daily now expending my own money for the public service. Our prizes are serving for transports for the army, and I must either shortly abandon this important position or be paid.

It is most likely that if all the important points I have mentioned could be blockaded, the Turks would be soon reduced, from the blockade being so much more easily maintained than elsewhere. Without money, you must be aware I cannot maintain this vessel; and all to be expected from General Church, you must be aware, is plenty of promises. The General is already overwhelmed with expectants, and if he had millions would not be able to command a farthing. I will do all I can; but I must repeat, it is not quite fair I should end a beggar after all the labour, vexation, and disappointment I have experienced for so many years.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

F. A. Hastings.

XXVI.

Karteria, off Cape Papas, Nov. 20th, 1827.

My Lord,

I have the honour to inform you I passed the Castles on the 18th, with the three prizes and mistico in company. I lost two men killed and one wounded in passing; the other vessels passed without suffering any damage. It had been my intention to attack the Turkish squadron at Lepanto, but the wind was so strong on the land, that I felt I could not effect my object; and, anxious to profit by the same wind to go out and aid the operations of the army outside, and blockade the fortresses, I passed through without waiting a more favourable moment of attack. At Patras I found a

schooner, whose suspicious conduct—in abstaining for a long time from hoisting any colours, and, when she afterwards showed Austrian, persisting in drawing closer under the Turkish battery—induced me to fire and bring her out. After waiting a little, and finding no attention paid to my warning, I fired again, and sunk her. I hear she was Austrian.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

F. A. Hastings.

XXVII.

Kurteria, Petala, Dec. 2nd, 1827.

My Lord,

I had the honour to write to you from Cape Papas, informing you that I had come out of the Gulf of Lepanto, and was waiting to embark the troops of General Church. I now beg leave to acquaint you that I arrived at Dragomestre the day before yesterday with the three prizes, which have been serving as transports to General Church's army for six weeks. We brought over six hundred soldiers, artillery, horses, &c.; and I am now returning to Cape Papas to embark a second division. I heard of the gunboat *Helvetia*, M. Fabricius, being at Kataculo, and I sent immediately to order him to join me, which he did, and is now at Cape Papas. While at Kataculo, the gunboat was attacked by a Turkish brig of twenty-four guns. M. Fabricius defended himself with much spirit, and obliged the brig to retire. I have since heard that the same brig is now off Previsa. If the service here will permit my absence, I think of going to look after her. The Gulf of Lepanto is now left entirely in the hands of the Turks, and I wish to send the gunboat in to assist the expedition against Salona, but the crew having been so long about here, suffering much hardship and without pay, are very dissatisfied. I have given the boat a new mast, anchor, cable, provisions, ammunition, &c., and I will even advance them a little money, if they will go into the Gulf. I should hope, however, that your lordship will reimburse me for these expenses, extra of my own vessel. As you may imagine, I am almost entirely without coals, and cannot get a sufficient quantity of the pitch-pine to burn; the other pine will not answer, and therefore I

am reduced to sails. General Church had ordered round here a Psariot brig he had at Kenkness, and I wrote to M. Kœring to request him to put coals on board of her, which, I understand, M. Kœring refused. From the manner in which I have been frequently treated, one would imagine that this vessel was not a Greek but an enemy's vessel. I trust your lordship will remedy this, and put me on a fair footing with the other Greek national vessels. I wish your lordship could also contrive to let me have some money, to cover the expenses of this vessel, which, for three months that we have been absent from Poros, cannot be supposed trifling. As I conceive it important, under existing circumstances, to keep the blockade of Patras, Missolonghi, and the Gulf, I will remain as long as my destitute situation will permit me. Since I have been here I do not think any vessels have entered the Gulf.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

F. A. HASTINGS.

XXVIII.

Karteria, Dragomestre, Dec. 8th, 1827.

MY LORD,

I have the honour to inform you that I have passed over the army of General Church to this port, amounting to about twelve hundred men, with six pieces of artillery, and about sixty horses, mules, &c. The General has been joined by Macri and some other captains, which may have increased his force to two thousand men. He is in hourly expectation of being joined by Zouga, and even Varnachioti is expected to come over. The Monastery of Ligovitza, on the road from Arta to Lepanto and Missolonghi, is said to have been possessed by the troops of the General. This post is of importance. The troops have all marched from Patras to Navarino, and nothing remains but some Albanians and the inhabitants. Lepanto is thinly peopled; all have little provisions as well as Missolonghi. From what I know of Lepanto and the Castles, I am confident that, if your lordship was to attack it with the squadron you command, and General Church was to make even a demonstration of attack by land, it must fall in forty-eight hours' time. Lepanto lies on the face of a hill open to the sea; every shot and shell

and rocket must tell somewhere, and they would readily capitulate. We must not take the Monastery of the Piræus as an example. At Lepanto the Turks have their families—this particular always operates upon them; but whether it did or not, the place would be taken, and I am not one who overrates the capabilities of the Greeks. I fear, however, that General Church has other projects, and such as, according to my opinion, are very unlikely to succeed. So much so that, if your lordship does not arrive or send me orders, I shall return to the Archipelago, rather than lend myself to measures which appear to me worse than useless. I must again beg of your lordship not to forget us in the way of money, provisions, ammunition, coals, &c. We are now more than three months absent from Poros.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

F. A. Hastings.

XXIX.

Karteria, off Vasiladhi, Dec. 27th, 1827.

My Lord,

I have now been twelve days before Vasiladhi, and since our arrival I have every reason to believe they have neither received provisions nor water. The weather has usually been so bad, that I have only been able to bombard it twice, and the gunboat having few shot, I have exchanged her 32 for one of our 68's, with shells; since which I have not been able to batter it, owing to the weather. I am satisfied they are now at their last shifts in the fort; and if I could remain before it a week longer, and bombard it for a couple of days, I doubt not it would fall into our hands. I regret of all things not having the flat-bottomed gunboat here; with her we would have had the fort before this. General Church was to have attacked Anatolico, and might have taken it, in the first instance, with little or no resistance; but he delayed till too late, and then came without an ounce of provisions, and returned the day after to Dragomestre. This man is such an insufferable quack, that I cannot act any longer with him; he affects to command the navy as well as the army; and although I have given him one or two rather rough lessons, he, the other day, captured with a boat of his a spy

of mine, on his way to me, and carried him off without mentioning a word of it to me. The man merely came here the other day, supposing Vasiladhi about to surrender, that he might say he took it. God knows there is no merit due, unless to the boats blockading inside. I have received letters to-day from the Gulf, and I find the expedition at Trisonia is in alarm of being blockaded by the Turkish vessels at Lepanto. The loss of the gunboats from the Gulf is almost irreparable. If your lordship could send them round here with a brig, it would be of infinite service. I am so in want of ammunition, provisions, fuel, &c., that I hardly know what to do, but if possible I will re-enter the Gulf to assist them there. I wrote by Mr. Finlay, announcing to your lordship that if the whole squadron was to come round here, I am satisfied that Missolonghi, Patras, Lepanto, and the Castles might be taken. They are much straitened for provisions at all, but particularly at Missolonghi and Lepanto, and the Castles could be taken by force. Patras is now provisioned daily by one of Church's generals, Neneka, from Zante, *viâ* Clarenza. Dr. Gosse informs me how much you are in want of money. I trust, however, if you obtain any, I shall not be forgotten. I have only received six hundred dollars from General Church, and my expenses have been enormous, for fuel, provisions, &c.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

F. A. HASTINGS.

XXX.

Karteria, off Vasiladhi, Dec. 29th, 1827.

MY LORD,

I have the honour to inform you that, after having transported the troops of General Church from Cape Papas to Dragomestre, I undertook the blockade of Vasiladhi, for which purpose I put in requisition the small craft after-mentioned, and employed them to intercept all communication with Vasiladhi. This flotilla I placed under the orders of my first lieutenant, M. Falanga; and on the night of the 16th they entered, and commenced the blockade, which has been so strictly observed up to this day, that nothing had entered Vasiladhi. One boat, with a letter and fresh provisions, was cap-

tured by our flotilla. I anchored, the gunboat *Helvetia* in company, outside Vasiladhi. Your lordship is aware that the *Helvetia* was armed with a long 32-pounder, which, in my opinion, is very inferior in every point of view to a 68, but indisputably so for cannonading a fort only to be reduced by shells. For this reason I changed her 32-pounder long gun for a 68-pounder cannonade. On the 22nd I bombarded Vasiladhi alone (the gunboat having been detached), with little effect, the weather being unfavourable; nor could I recommence until to-day, when, considering the distance we were off (about one and three-quarter mile), and the diminutive size of the object fired at, better practice has rarely been displayed: four shells out of seven from this ship and gunboat exploded in, and one blew up, their magazine. I immediately ordered an assault, in which all the boats took part. The Turks, intimidated by the explosion, and by our attitude of attack, called for quarter, which I granted them, although they had previously forfeited their lives by firing on a flag of truce I sent to them with terms of capitulation. I embarked the prisoners on board this ship, and from thence conveyed them in safety to near Missolonghi. They were thirty in number; and one Greek badly wounded I have retained on board to be treated by our surgeon. The original number was from forty to fifty, the deficit having been killed off by our previous cannonading and by the explosion. I am happy, my lord, to testify to the exemplary conduct of the Greeks during the whole of this service; they have borne the fatigues and privations of a winter's blockade in open boats with extraordinary patience, and the forbearance they displayed towards the Turks rendered any interference of mine in their favour superfluous. Of my officers, Lieutenant Falanga and Captain Hane, M.A., I have only to repeat the often-told tale of their meritorious conduct. To M. Fabricius, commanding the gunboat *Helvetia*, I feel much indebted for his zeal and activity, and I am happy to have so deserving an officer under my orders. The fort of Vasiladhi mounts twelve guns, three of which are of that remarkably useful piece of ordnance, the Turkish licorne. I have offered to deliver the Fort of Vasiladhi to General Church upon his remunerating for their services those employed in taking it.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

F. A. Hastings.

List of small vessels employed in taking Vasiladhi.

A mistico, Galaxidhiote, Captain Urgaki; the same sent with me into the Gulf of Lepanto, and who has served with me ever since.
A mistico, Galaxidhiote.
A bonée.
An armed row-boat.
Two of my prize launches, armed each with a 9-pounder.
A bratsiera.
Five monoxolics, or canoes, for the shallows.

XXXI.

Karteria, Dragomestre, Jan. 7th, 1828.

My Lord,

I have the honour to acquaint you that General Church arrived before Vasiladhi on the 2nd inst.; and I resigned to him that fort on the third, requesting him to refund the expenses of taking it; these consist of five dollars per man bounty, besides the provisions of the flotilla employed in the blockade. The General has promised to repay this, although not without expressing some surprise at the demand; yet the guns he receives in the fort would pay the whole sum.

On the same day I received an official letter from General Church, requesting me to inform him what co-operation he might expect from the navy in a projected attack of his on Anatolico. According to the wish of General Church, I agreed to send all the boats at my disposal that night, to attempt to capture an island named Poros, commanding the entrance into the Lake of Anatolico, where the Turks had a post, and we heard he was filling up the passage, and about to place guns on another island, which would render him entirely master of the entrance. I soon discovered that what General Church calls the co-operation of the navy is in reality the navy executing the service, and the army looking on at its leisure, ready to take possession if success attended the arms of the former. I had understood that I was to be supported by two rocket-boats of General Church, and by the launch of the Psarian brig, carrying a carronade to throw grenades; but these did not appear. A dozen policaries arrived from General Church, and were embarked in the expedition. At half-past three A.M. of the

4th inst. I arrived with five boats out of nine (the rest having unaccountably kept behind) at a narrow part of the passage of the lake, across which the Turks had built a wall, and stationed a gunboat behind it. The Turkish boat was soon put to flight; the sailors jumping into the water soon cleared away a passage for the boats, and the five of our boats rowed upon Poros, the Turks keeping up a brisk fire of musketry from that island, and of cannon from Anatolico. We were now within pistol-shot of Poros, when I found, to my surprise, a fort on it—which I had been assured there was not, or I would not have attempted the attack, knowing that in our warfare their holds are not to be thus taken. Seeing no reasonable hope of succeeding, I ordered a retreat; and having repassed by the way we entered, found General Church's detachment lying flat in the bottom of their boats out of gun-shot. To say that my officers, Captain Hane, M.A., and Lieutenant Falanga, also M. Fabricius, commanding the gunboat *Helvetia*, accompanied me, is to commend them for their accustomed zeal and gallantry. I cannot conclude without mentioning the name of Chrysanto, who, after having aided at Vasiladhi, was with me here in his own boat, and displayed much courage. He had one man wounded, the only loss we sustained. Perceiving that Anatolico was not to be taken by us; that General Church's troops were (without provisions) somewhere in a marsh, where our boats could not get to embark them, and that they might have marched on the mainland close to Anatolico; being without provisions in this ship, and seeing no possibility of rendering any service by remaining longer before Vasiladhi, I returned to this port to provide for our immediate wants, and in the hopes of meeting Dr. Gosse, and procuring from him some funds for the maintenance of my crew, which I think your lordship will see the necessity of providing me with, as I have not received more than two thousand dollars during five months, and I have latterly been maintaining this ship in provisions and fuel, besides furnishing money and provisions to the gunboat and flotilla inside Vasiladhi.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

F. A. HASTINGS.

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